

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
+ Orissa
BIHAR/RESEARCH SOCIETY



VOL.
XXIX



1943

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OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

March-June 1943

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[PARTS I & II

Leading Articles

REVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

1941-42

By THE HON'BLE THE CHIEF JUSTICE
SIR SAIYID FAZL ALI

It is my privilege to welcome Your Excellency tonight on behalf of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society as its President.

The Society was founded nearly three decades ago by a small group of distinguished men and owing to their efforts as also the keen interest taken in its well-being by some of Your Excellency's predecessors in office, specially Sir Edward Gait, the second Lieutenant-Governor of the province, whose memory is still fondly cherished by the scholars of this province, it occupies today a very high position in the domain of Indology in India and abroad. The fact that Your Excellency has, in spite of your multifarious duties, found time to attend this annual meeting of the Society is a source

of great encouragement to us and we trust that Your Excellency as the Patron and President of the Society will take a personal interest in its affairs and continue to offer to it your guidance and support from time to time.

In reviewing the work of the Society I have briefly to supplement and in some cases amplify the statements to be found in the Honorary Secretary's Annual Report. Before doing so, however, I must refer to the great loss which the Society has suffered by the death of Sir Dawson Miller, one of the Vice-Patrons of the Society, and of Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy and Dr. Johnston, two of its most valuable members. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy was a foundation member of the Society and for some time its Honorary Secretary. On learning of his death, Sir Edward Gait who continues to take a keen interest in the affairs of the Society wrote to Dr. Banerji-Sastri, the Honorary Secretary of the Society, as follows :—

“I came to know him nearly 40 years ago when as Commissioner of Chota Nagpur I had to deal with numerous appeals in connection with the Settlement operation in Ranchi. In nearly all these appeals he appeared on behalf of the tenants, and argued their cases with great earnestness and skill ; and I was greatly impressed with the way in which he did all in his power to help the ignorant Munda and Oraon cultivators. His ethnographic studies date from that time and he soon became the leading Indian

Ethnographist. His books are the fruit of intensive personal investigation and he quickly acquired a great reputation in England, as much as, or even more than, in India".

The Rai Bahadur continued to be a member of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society till the last day of his life and was also its first Honorary Secretary. It is gratifying to know that another member of the Society, Mr. W. G. Archer, has undertaken to edit the excellent magazine "Man in India" founded by the late Rai Bahadur.

The death of Dr. Johnston came as a shock as he was barely 58. In his younger days he served as a member of the Indian Civil Service in Bihar. On return to Oxford he resumed his oriental studies and rose to be the Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University. He was a most valuable member of the Society and also used to contribute at times to its Journal. When the Tibetan expedition organised under the auspices of the Society in 1937 secured certain long lost Buddhist texts in Sanskrit from Tibet, Dr. Johnston offered to co-operate with the Editorial Committee in editing and publishing them. He was entrusted with the preparation of the text of the Uttaratantra and in his last letter to Dr. Banerji-Sastri, he stated that the text was ready and would soon be despatched. The book has not yet been received, but we hope to publish it in a supplementary issue of the Journal as soon as it is received.

Against these losses may be noted with some satisfaction an increase in the number of the members of the Society and of fresh recruits to the rank of contributors to the Journal. As pointed out by the Honorary Secretary the total membership of our Society stands today at 142 as against 116 at the close of the year 1942.

The principal subjects dealt with in the Honorary Secretary's report are, (1) the Library of the Society, (2) search for old and rare manuscripts and (3) the Society's Journal. I do not consider it necessary to add anything to what is already stated in the report on the first two subjects, but following the practice of previous years I shall allude to some of the more important topics discussed in our Journal by certain eminent scholars.

The March number of our Journal begins with the discourse given by Mr. Manuk at the last annual meeting on the history and development of pictorial art in India. The lecture was illustrated with the aid of well chosen slides and was greatly appreciated by the audience. In broad outline Mr. Manuk traced the story from the rude drawings in red pigment in the caves of the Kaimur range of the Central Provinces and those of Mirzapur district which date back to the beginning of the Christian era through the famous frescoes at Ajanta and Bagh of first to seventh centuries A. D. to the Persian and Moghal paintings of the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries. How deeply Mr. Manuk has studied the subject will be shown by the talk which he has very kindly consented to give us tonight in spite of very short notice.

In the same issue appears "Sources for a history of Nepal" by Mr. Regmi, himself a Nepali, in which he has collected together in a convenient form a volume of useful information from a number of printed books, journals and manuscripts some of which are not easily available.

Mr. Adris Banerji, Custodian of the Sarnath Museum, in "Two images" draws attention to two statues in village Pakbirra in Manbhum District which were first noticed by Mr. Beglar of the Archaeological Survey of India. These images which are identified by Mr. Banerji as well as by Mr. K. P. Mitra of Monghyr, who has contributed another paper on the same subject in the June number of the Journal, with the Jain Goddess Ambika Devī otherwise known as Dharma Devī and Agnila etc. testify to the spread of Jainism in Manbhum between the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Mr. J. N. Sarkar of Patna College has contributed two papers relating to certain "Correspondence between the Deccani Sultanates and Mir Jumla with the Court of Shah Abbas II of Iran" showing among other things how Persia wanted to make a political use of its position as a centre of Shiaism in its relation with the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda in the Deccan against the Moghals. Mr. Basu in his "Augustus Cleveland" succinctly deals with some of the steps taken by the famous Collector of Bhagalpur between 1779 and 1783 to subjugate a number of hill chiefs whose constant depredations had reduced portions of his district and its neighbourhood to a chaotic and helpless state.

In view of the discoveries in the Indus, Jumna, Ganges and Narbada valleys of archaeological remains going back to nearly three thousand years B. C. proper stratification in Indian history has become a problem and the Rev. Father Heras, Director of the Indian Historical Institute of Bombay has dealt with this subject in his thought-provoking paper 'Pre History or proto-history?' published in the June number of the Journal where after referring to the Indus valley culture he has expressed his conclusion in the following words:—

"Perhaps, some day, we shall be forced to enlarge still the historical period of India to an earlier age. Then we shall be able to write once more: "Indian history goes back."

In the same number Professors Brij Narain and Sri Ram Sharma of Lahore, have critically examined and translated two contemporary Dutch Chronicles of Moghal India called "Hindusthan Chronicle" which are still preserved in the Dutch Record office at Hague and which purport to give an account of Indian events from the beginning of the reign of Humayun to the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign.

Mr. Keny of Bombay in his "Nāgas in Magadha" has made an attempt to disentangle the historical Nāgas whom he rightly describes as "the most mysterious of all the tribes of ancient India from their mythological back-ground" and Mr. Ojha of the Indian Civil Service in his "Indra-Vṛtra War and Serpent People" has dealt with the same "strangely gifted race of actual men" from a different angle.

In the same number Dr. Banerji-Sastri has given an account of two new commentaries on Māhabhārata and of four important palm-leaf manuscripts - Dvaitanirṇaya, Mahādānanirṇaya, Śuddhichintāmaṇi by Vachaspati Misra and Adbhūtsāgara by Ballāṣena, the last of which, I am glad to state, has already been acquired for the Society's Library. Dr. K. K. Basu has in "A Chapter from Golconda History" recounted the scholarly activities of the Qutb Shahi rulers of Golconda and Mr. Sheldon of the Indian Civil Service has put on record in "Prabhu Singh" the heroism displayed by a Rajput cultivator from a village in the Bhabua sub-division in the district of Shahabad in the Boer War during the siege of Ladysmith in 1900 A. D.

In September and December numbers Rev. A. C. Perumalil of Kurseong gives an account of some early Greek and Roman writers on India from the time of Alexander's invasion till the fall of Alexandira, that is to say, between 326 B. C. and 641 A.D. which appears to be even a fuller account than that compiled by McCrindle in 1877. The other notable contributions in the September number are (1) A description by Mr. Shere, Curator of the Patna Museum, of fifty coins of the Jaunpur dynasty obtained as treasure-trove from Palamau; (2) a paper by Dr. Banerji-Sastri on "Resemblance of Manichaeism to Buddhism" and (3) an article on "Minerology and Mining in Ancient India" by Dr. S. K. Roy of the Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad.

In the December number Dr. Majumdar has discussed the Vanitās (colophons) in the Padāvalīs of Vidyāpati, the well-known Maithili poet of the

sixteenth century and Dr. Banerji-Sastri has shown with plates the evolution of the Māgadhi script from the thirteenth to fifteenth century. The other papers to which attention must be drawn are "A note on Royal Epistles" by Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda; "Mahenjo Daro and Bactria" by Mr. Karmakar of Bombay, "History of the Chauhans" by Mr. Rath; "Two Garuḍa Images in Mathura Museum" by Mr. Nagar of that Museum and "The Khut System of the Santals" by Rev. Gausdal of Dumka.

This brief review will show the variety of subjects discussed in the Journal, the reputation of which I am glad to say is steadily growing in this country and abroad. This is to some extent evident from the fact that the sale proceeds of the Journal have gone up from Rs. 156/14 - in 1940-41 to Rs. 984/11 in 1942-43 and a number of new journals have sought the privilege of exchange bringing the total number of such exchanges in 1942-43 to 86. It is gratifying to note that at present every oriental journal published in India and abroad is available to those who are interested in research work in the Library and the Reading Rooms of the Society.

I do not think that I should detain you any longer, but before I conclude I must thank the members of the Council in general and Dr. Banerji-Sastri, Mr. Sham Bahadur and Mr. Taraporevala in particular for the help and co-operation which they have offered to me in carrying on the work of the Society as its Vice-President. Dr. Banerji-Sastri is a scholar of great reputation and as I have said on

previous occasions the Society owes much to his expert knowledge and advice. I must also take this opportunity to thank Khan Bahadur Nawab Syed Mohammad Ismail for his promise to continue his annual donation of Rs. 50 to the Society and for the efforts which he is making to acquire some old Arabic and Persian manuscripts for its Library.

BRITISH ALLIANCE WITH JAIPUR, 1818

By ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE

The treaty concluded by Lord Wellesley with Jaipur in 1803 was cancelled in 1806, partly due to Raja Jagat Singh's failure to render satisfactory assistance to the British Government, partly due to the revival of the policy of non-intervention by Lord Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow. During Lord Minto's administration Jagat Singh was compelled, by the pressure of Daulat Rao Sindhia and Amir Khan, to apply for assistance to the Governor-General through the Resident in Delhi, but Lord Minto was not prepared to undertake new responsibilities. It was Lord Moira who initiated a new policy. He was not prepared to hand over Jaipur to Sindhia or to Amir Khan. In a Minute dated April 13, 1816, he observed, "Amir Khan would, as sovereign (of Jaipur), add to the native strength of Jaipur an army better composed, higher disciplined, and more fashioned to service than is possessed by any other chieftain in India. The very structure of this army, and all its circumstances, make our opulent provinces the object'..It was injudicious to expect that the mutual jealousy so long existing between Amir Khan and Sindhia would prevent their co-operation against the Company. "The conferences", Lord Moira remarked, "which took place between Amir Khan and Bapu Sindhia early in the Gurkha War were sufficient indications of

their good understanding". Sindhia, the Governor-General thought, would not openly object to the conclusion of an alliance between the Company and Jaipur, at a time when the British "force is at liberty, when it is in the most efficient condition, and when its quality is displayed in a light so impressive to the native sovereigns, by its having trodden under foot the hitherto invincible Gurkhas." Metcalfe, the Resident in Delhi, was, therefore, to be authorised to conclude a treaty with Jaipur at once¹.

Among the members of the Council Edmonstone opposed the Governor-General's proposal. His views are explained in detail in a Minute, dated April 16, 1816. In the first place, he drew a distinction between the 'organized troops of the Pathan leaders' and the Pindaris. "The former," he observed, "consist chiefly of infantry and artillery regularly formed and disciplined, to which is added cavalry such as is usually found in the ranks of native armies. These troops, it is true, have been employed in overthrowing...the States of Udaipur, Jodhpur and Jaipur and, especially in the dominions of the latter, have spread into the interior of the country, exacting contributions and practising those outrages which are systematic among native troops. ...In the sense above described they may perhaps be justly termed predatory troops, but they are not, as the Pindaris are, mounted robbers without organization or discipline; nor do they go forth, as the Pindaris do, in bands to distant quarters for the

¹ Secret Consultations, Imperial Record Department, April 20, 1816, No. 1.

purpose of committing robbery and plunder indiscriminately in all the territories accessible to their incursions." It was clear, therefore, that the weakening of Amir Khan's 'organized troops' was not a necessary step in the immediate expedition against the Pindaris. Secondly, the plan of overthrowing Amir Khan's hold on Jaipur was a part of Lord Moira's comprehensive programme for 'the general settlement of Central India.' Edmonstone was convinced that the conclusion of an alliance with Jaipur 'must of necessity lead, by an uninterrupted and unavoidable gradation of procedures and events, to that extended system of paramount sway' which the Governor-General wanted and the authorities of London prohibited. The Secret Committee in London had observed in a despatch relating to the question of revising the system of alliances: "We are chiefly desirous that by prudent management our affairs should be maintained in the same relative state under which our possessions have now for ten years continued in a state of tranquillity"¹. Edmonstone pointed out that "the continued exclusion of the State of Jaipur from the range of our political alliances is essential to the maintenance of that system to which the Hon'ble Committee refers in the foregoing para"².

Seton, the former Resident in Delhi, was now a member of the Supreme Council. He carefully read the Minutes of Lord Moira and Edmonstone, and observed in a Minute dated April 17, 1816,"

¹ Letter dated September 29, 1815.

² S. C., April 20, 1816, No. 2.

“Our alliance with Jaipur should be renewed, and in consideration of the present critical state of that country, it is extremely desirable that the preliminary measures necessarily connected with the arrangement should be adopted with the least practicable delay.” The principal grounds in favour of this view are thus stated by him. In the first place, an alliance with Jaipur would prevent the occupation of that country by Amir Khan. “In my judgment”, Seton observed, “this is by no means a mere negative advantage, since Jaipur can in no case remain neutral. If its resources are not with us, they must be employed against us. If not thrown into our scale of influences, they must be thrown into that of our enemies. There is no medium”. Secondly, as a protected State Jaipur would virtually become an advanced British military cantonment in Western India, “forming a species of connecting link between the western frontier of the Presidency of Bengal and the province of Gujarat”. Thirdly, ‘by the exercise of well-directed influence’ British officers might ‘restore the once flourishing country of Jaipur to its former state of prosperity and happiness’. Finally, the renewal of the alliance would remove ‘the somewhat unfavourable impression which attached to our dissolution of the former treaty’. Against these advantages three objections might be raised. In the first place, it might be argued that it was unwise to offend so powerful a military chief like Amir Khan. Seton replied that sooner or later the Company must check Amir Khan’s progress, and it was better that he should be checked before he succeeded in securing

absolute control over Jaipur. Secondly, Amir Khan might plead the right of Malhar Rao Holkar (Jaswant Rao Holkar's successor) to the privilege of levying tribute from Jaipur. Seton suggested that the British Government might recognize the validity of this claim and provide for the regular payment of the sum decided upon. Thirdly, Edmonstone had referred to the prohibitory order of the Secret Committee. Seton did not accept his interpretation of the Committee's letter and argued that the revival of the alliance with Jaipur was not directly prohibited by it¹.

After these deliberations it was decided that an alliance should be immediately formed with Jaipur, and Metcalfe was entrusted with the delicate task of carrying the negotiations to a successful end. It was apprehended that Sindhia would not "regard without dissatisfaction the conclusion of an alliance between the British Government and the State of Jaipur and that he would willingly throw every impediment in his power in the way of it." But the Governor-General believed that "it must be an object affecting him very near that would rouse him with active hostilities against the British Government." Close, who was at that time Resident with Sindhia, was instructed to 'meet any enquiry' on the matter. He was asked to say that the British Government could not refuse to respond to the Raja's repeated applications for protection, that the Maratha Powers had no claim on Jaipur, and that the British Government had been loyally and

1 S. C., April 20, 1816, No. 3.

sincerely observing the terms of the treaty of 1805 with Sindhia¹.

Metcalf was fully aware of, and in full sympathy with, the new policy initiated by Lord Hastings. The instructions issued to him on April 20, 1816, were bold as well as precise. The negotiations with Jaipur were to be "conducted in such a manner as to render evident to the Raja that it is his interest and not that of the British Government that is principally concerned in their success, that we are yielding to his solicitations and not seeking our own advantage." He was to be solemnly warned that 'to deserve the benefits of our alliance' he must 'enter into it with a firm resolution to adhere in all events to the British Government'. The price demanded by Lord Hastings from the Raja of Jaipur was : "the establishment of a British force in the country, the whole or a large proportion of the expenses of which is to be borne by the Raja ; a control over the conduct of the exterior relation of that Government ; exclusion from Jaipur territory of all foreign influence and power ; and the disposal of the military power and resources of Jaipur for all purposes connected with the alliance and the general welfare of the two States". The British Government must have the right "to introduce into Jaipur territory at all times any number of troops it may deem requisite for the furtherance of the common interests of the two States, but it should be declared that the Raja will not be subjected to any additional charge on this account, except when the troops are augmented at his express solicitation or

1. Supreme Government to Close, April 20, 1816.

for objects exclusively his own." The amount of subsidy was to be fixed with reference to the financial condition of Jaipur; it was not to be placed 'on such a note as would render the punctual discharge of it a matter of difficulty'. In addition to the subsidiary force, the Raja should be asked to maintain a body of troops 'to be at the disposal of the British Government for purposes of common interest'. With regard to the control of external relations, the British Government must regulate the payment of tribute, if any, by Jaipur to Sindhia or Holkar. Lord Hastings thought, however, that neither Sindhia nor Holkar could justly demand tribute from Jaipur, for they had relinquished all claims on the allies of the British Government. The British Government, on its part, would defend the Raja of Jaipur against all enemies, foreign and domestic, guarantee the integrity of his territory and 'the independence of his territory', and give him military assistance against rebellious Chiefs and subjects¹.

Lord Hastings expected that Metcalfe would be able to conclude the alliance without involving the British Government in actual hostilities with Amir Khan and his confederate chiefs. But precautionary measures were necessary. Two detachments of troops, consisting of 18,000 effective fighting men, were posted at Rewari and Mathura under the command of Major-General Ochterlony. A corps of reserve waited at Cawnpore. Measures were also taken for the protection of the British frontier against the sudden movement of the 'predatory

¹ S. C., April 20, 1816, No. 6.

hordes.' If the conclusion of the alliance was followed by any trouble created or encouraged by Amir Khan, war would be declared against him; "in such an event his retreat from Jaipur will no longer be sufficient," and operations against him would be continued until he should be deprived of all his possessions¹.

Sindhia was naturally anxious to keep both Amir Khan and the British Government away from Rajputana. As soon as he heard that negotiations would be opened with Jaipur by Metcalfe he ordered Bapu Sindhia 'to conciliate the Rajputs by every means in his power, and not to discourage them by any conduct which may interrupt the harmony that Sindhia wishes to preserve with them'. At the same time re-inforcements were sent to Bapu Sindhia². Close thought that Amir Khan was not strong enough to secure 'the double object of subduing the Jaipur Government...and of resisting the army under Bapu Sindhia'. He was, therefore, expected to leave the field open to Sindhia, who would then 'be at liberty to regulate his proceedings according to the disposition which he finds prevalent in the Jaipur Durbar'³. On the whole, however, Close was confident of Metcalfe's success. He

1 S. C., April 20, 1816, No. 6.

2 Close wrote to Metcalfe in a letter dated May 19, 1816, "As the march of Sindhia's troops may inspire the Raja (of Jaipur) with some confidence of success against Amir Khan without submitting to the sacrifices he must make to obtain our effectual assistance, I should consider it a most desirable point to prevent or retard their advance into Jaipur..." (S. C., June 11, 1816, No. 27) .

3 S. C., May 23, 1816, No. 32.

observed, "We cannot from past experience imagine that Sindhia will remain silent under the prospect of his dominions being so nearly approached in their most vulnerable points by the power of the British Government, or perhaps even that His Highness will altogether abstain from movements of a menacing appearance with a view to make a last effort to deter us from advancing ; but as to any act of hostility, I am of opinion that the measures which your Lordship has resolved to pursue are precisely those which must discourage Sindhia from making any such attempt"¹.

As soon as the intention of the British Government became public, Amir Khan began to press Jaipur more closely than ever and brought reinforcements to invest the capital. Bapu Sindhia failed to conciliate the Rajputs. The Jaipur *vakil*s in Sindhia's camp complained of 'the inadequacy and futility of the exertions' made by him in their favour. Close suspected that Sindhia really 'wished to effect his purpose by intimidation rather than by force'. Amir Khan opened secret negotiations with Sindhia² and apparently succeeded in convincing him that they should act jointly for securing their common purpose—the exclusion of British influence from Jaipur³. Sindhia calculated that his acquiescence in the policy pursued by Amir Khan towards Jaipur would 'frighten the Raja and deter him from putting his seal irrevocably to any

1 S. C., June 11, 1816, No. 28.

2 S. C., June 15, 1816, No. 10.

3 S. C., July 13, 1816, No. 12.

treaty' with the Company. Naturally Amir Khan increased the vigour of his operations against Jaipur¹. The position of Jaipur became very critical, for no assistance was available from Bapu Sindhia².

In the meanwhile Metcalfe had opened negotiations with Jaipur. These negotiations were disturbed (June, 1816) by alarming rumours originating from unknown sources regarding the impending march of British troops upon Jaipur from Mathura and Rewari³. At first Jagat Singh was rather lukewarm about Metcalfe's proposal, for he expected relief from Sindhia. Metcalfe wrote to Close on May 26, 1816, "The conduct of the court of Jaipur since it received intimation of the disposition of our Government to negotiate a treaty of protection and alliance has not corresponded with its former eagerness in pressing its own overtures"⁴. Towards the close of June the change in Sindhia's attitude and the intensification of Amir Khan's pressure restored the 'former eagerness' of the Jaipur *vakils*. The terms were settled and the draft of the treaty was ready for signature. All on a sudden, however, the Jaipur *vakils* adopted an uncompromising attitude and the work done so far was undone. This sudden change was due to Amir Khan's retreat from Jaipur. Metcalfe wrote on July 3, 1816, "What he is to receive does not

1 S. C., June 15, 1816, No. 11.

2 S. C., June 22, 1816, No. 25.

3 S. C., June 15, 1816, No. 10; June 29, 1816, No. 12; September 7, 1816, No. 5.

4 S. C., June 15, 1816, No. 8.

appear, and there is some reason to suppose that his necessities made him retreat". In spite of this unexpected disappointment Metcalfe did not despair, "for the distress of the Jaipur Government is of a permanent nature and the only permanent relief is in our protection"¹. A few days later the negotiations were resumed, but they were suddenly interrupted again by 'a most preposterous proposition'—the claim of the Jaipur *wakils* that Tonk and Rampura should be restored to their Government. Metcalfe wanted to keep these places for the Company. "The fort of Rampura is a post of which we know the value by experience, and the district yields four or five lakhs of annual revenue"².

When Metcalfe's reports were brought to the notice of the Governor-General-in-Council it was decided that the 'delusive character' of the Raja of Jaipur 'entitled him to no consideration'. Metcalfe was instructed to inform him that if he did not 'immediately recover the false step he had taken and conclude the alliance on the terms already proposed, he must consider the negotiations at an end and abide the consequences of this decision in the ruin and devastation of his country without an effort on the part of the British to save him'. (July, 1816)³.

In a long despatch dated August 7, 1816, Metcalfe submitted to the Supreme Government a detailed report of his unsuccessful negotiations with

1 S. C., August 3, 1816, No. 3.

2 S. C., August 3, 1816, No. 4.

3 S. C., August 3, 1816, No. 5.

the Jaipur *vakils* in Delhi. At first their response to his proposal was very unsatisfactory. Probably the ministers of Jaipur had not yet made up their minds as to the terms on which they should enter the proposed alliance. For a few days the *vakils* even omitted their ordinary visits on stated days, which they had never before 'omitted for years, as if ashamed of the apparent inconsistency of their own Court'. Later on they re-opened the negotiations with a proposal that an 'English Gentleman' should be sent to Jaipur. Amir Khan was then advancing in full force against Jaipur. "The mission of an English Gentleman would have pointed out to him the determination of the British Government to protect Jaipur, and would have had nearly the same effect as a treaty in deterring him from violent measures. The mission of an English gentleman would also have shown our anxiety to accomplish the alliance and would to all appearance have reversed the relative positions of the two States in the negotiations". The proposal was, therefore, rejected by Metcalfe, although he was quite aware of the possibility that "the mission of an English gentleman to Jaipur might have tended to expediate the conclusion of a treaty from the advantage of direct intercourse with the Raja and his principal ministers"¹.

Amir Khan was in the meanwhile collecting his troops and advancing to attack the city of Jaipur. Metcalfe believed that he "wished to anticipate the connection (between Jaipur and the Com-

¹ S. C., September 7, 1816, No. 5.

pany) that he apprehended and sought by a decisive blow completely to prevent it, either by bringing the Raja entirely within his own power or by effecting at least a change in the Ministry and putting in men connected with himself". It was only after Amir Khan had begun the siege of Jaipur that the *Durbar* sent a *vakil* with full powers to conclude a treaty. This *vakil* was a respectable banker named Sankar Das. The *vakils* residing in Delhi were associated with him, but he was 'made the principal and most responsible person'.

After preliminary conversations it was decided that the expenses of the subsidiary force to be stationed at Jaipur would amount to 25 lakhs of rupees per annum and that the whole of this sum should be paid by the Raja of Jaipur if the resources of his territory could afford it. It was well-known, however, that the revenues of Jaipur were not sufficient for the payment of so large a sum, 'either under present circumstances or in past years of prosperity'. Metcalfe proposed that the treaty should contain an article "establishing the principle that 25 lakhs ought to be paid, and should be paid whenever the resources of the country should admit of it, and that in the meantime the British Government should take a less sum, being as much as could be given according to a fair and just consideration of the resources of Jaipur, on which point the British Government should be the sole judge". The Jaipur *vakils* apprehended that the inclusion of such an article in the treaty would 'prove a warrant for

insisting on the full payment of that sum hereafter'. They showed 'so decided a repugnance' to Metcalfe's proposal that he abandoned it and suggested that 15 lakhs should be agreed upon. Even then the *vakils* pleaded the inability of the Raja to pay so large a sum. Metcalfe thought that their argument was not absolutely without justification: "The devastation which has affected the territory of Jaipur for many years, and the actual occupation of a considerable portion of the country by enemies, afforded the *vakils* a reasonable ground for alleging that the payment of any considerable sum at first would be impracticable". The following arrangement was finally agreed upon: "for the first year nothing to be paid in consequence of the ruined state of the country, for the second and third years five lakhs each, for the fourth and fifth years ten lakhs each, ever afterwards fifteen lakhs annually"¹.

Everything was now ready for the preparation of a draft treaty, which was to be signed on the following day. When the next day came and the draft prepared by Metcalfe was read to the *vakils*, they 'commenced their observations upon it in an altered tone'. They objected to the arrangement about payment previously decided upon. After some delay Metcalfe agreed to take eight lakhs (instead of ten) per year, for the fourth and fifth years. Then the *vakils* demanded the restoration of Tonk and Ram-pura, which were at that time in the nominal possession of Holkar and actual control of Amir Khan. Metcalfe pointed out that Tonk and Ram-

¹ S. C., September 7, 1816, No. 5.

pura had been separated from Jaipur for a long period, and "that these districts had been for two years (1804—1806) in our possession during the former alliance, without such a demand being made on the part of Jaipur". But the Jaipur *vakil*s plainly declared that they were 'not at liberty to sign any treaty without obtaining a satisfactory promise with regard to Tonk and Rampura'. The negotiations were thus abruptly terminated. But Metcalfe was still sanguine. He wrote on August 7, 1816, "It is perhaps most probable that the Court of Jaipur has not really determined what course to pursue, and that there are at present two parties at work, one recommending an alliance with us on the terms insisted on, and the other objecting either to the terms or to the alliance, and urging an arrangement with the plunderers of the country"².

In August, 1816, it became clear that the Jaipur *Durbar* wanted to protract the negotiations with the British in order to secure better terms from Amir Khan and Sindhia³. Metcalfe was informed that a minister would soon be deputed to him for the final adjustment of the terms of a treaty. Metcalfe was convinced that this proposal was nothing but an excuse for further delay. So he publicly 'declared

1 S. C., September 7, 1816, No. 5.

2 S. C., September 7, 1816, No. 5.

3 Close wrote from Sindhia's court on August 13, 1816, "The Jaipur question is now very little thought of. Bapuji Sindhia of his own accord lately . . . advanced into Jaipur; he has again retired, but neither his advance nor retreat has excited any attention in the *Durbar*". (S. C., September 7, 1816, No. 9).

the negotiations to be at an end on account of the persevering evasion of the court of Jaipur".

Although 'the deceitful and evasive conduct of the court of Jaipur necessarily excited the disgust' of the Governor-General, he was fully conscious of the fact that the advantages of an alliance with Jaipur were not 'immaterial' to the British Government. He was prepared, therefore 'to receive and discuss any new proposition that may be made without animadverting on what has passed'. Metcalfe was authorised to conclude a treaty if the *wakils* of Jaipur accepted all the terms formerly agreed upon, as well as an additional condition to the effect that the British Government would be the arbitrator of any demand preferred by any State on Jaipur. This arrangement was intended to 'form the basis of our resistance to the objections which may eventually be opposed by Sindhia or other Powers to the treaty on the pretence that it invades their rights with relation to Jaipur'. Metcalfe received unqualified praise for "conducting the negotiations with the same ability, zeal, firmness and address which have uniformly distinguished your official conduct in the many arduous and important transactions in which you have been engaged".

The position of Jaipur was becoming worse day by day. Amir Khan was collecting revenue from the villages of Jaipur and one of his lieutenants was strengthening a fort within Jaipur territory which he had occupied. Babu Sindhia

1 S. C., September 7, 1816, No. 6, 7.

2 S. C., September 7, 1816, No. 8.

did not obstruct Amir Khan's movements. There was no unity even in the capital of Jagat Singh. Rao Chand Singh, the principal commander of his troops, was pro-British. When the negotiations with Metcalfe were broken up he resigned his command and left Jaipur in disgust. His successor was Ganesh Narain, 'who was undoubtedly most anxiously bent on the formation of an alliance with the British, for which his endeavours were incessant'. Metcalfe wrote on September 25, 1816, "Affairs are proceeding at Jaipur in that course which is likely, in my opinion, though at what period I cannot pretend to say, to lead to a further application for our protection, with entire submission to our terms"¹.

In November, 1816, some Jaipur *vakils* led by Shankar Das came to Delhi and renewed negotiations with Metcalfe. The question of Tonk and Rampura was revived. The *vakils* no longer insisted on the insertion of any stipulation on that subject in the treaty; they were ready to be satisfied if Metcalfe promised in writing that he would try 'to prevail on the Governor-General to comply with their wishes, if, by any event, Tonk and Rampura came into the possession of the British Government'. Metcalfe expressed his inability to make any such promise. The *vakils* gave up their demand as if it had been 'made with a previous conviction that it would not succeed'. Then they wanted *jagirs* or pensions for themselves. Metcalfe 'got rid of this most preposterous proposal by exposing its absurdity and laughing it off in a manner that

¹ S. C., October 12, 1816, No. 16.

was likely to be least offensive'. The third request of the *vakils* was that the Resident at the court of Jaipur should be a man of 'mild and kind disposition and deportment'. Metcalfe gave them full assurance on this point. Then Metcalfe proposed the additional stipulation about arbitration. The *vakils* obstinately opposed it on the ground that "they did not know to what extensive and indefinite demands they might be subjecting themselves, should they bind themselves to abide by British decision on every claim that might be brought forward against them". Metcalfe tried to remove their suspicions and agreed to put the article in the most harmless language. He suggested that the right of the British Government to arbitrate on all claims preferred by other Powers against Jaipur should be limited to claims, if any, advanced by Holker and Sindhia relating to matters arising since the dissolution of the British alliance with Jaipur in 1806, for he suspected that the alarm of the *vakils* was particularly directed towards some bonds given by Jagat Singh to Holkar and some Pindari leaders before 1806. The *vakils* accepted this compromise, and everything was ready for the formal conclusion of the treaty. A strange difficulty was, however raised at the last moment. The *vakils* were not sure whether the treaty would be ratified by the Raja. They asked Metcalfe 'to be satisfied for the present with a treaty signed by themselves'.

Metcalfe naturally rejected this 'extraordinary proposal' and, unwilling to tolerate further delay,

broke up the negotiations. He observed in his report to the Supreme Government, "A protracted and open negotiation is attended with many advantages to the Raja of Jaipur. It overawes his enemies and enables him to make better terms with them. It does not bind him to anything, and it puts it in his power to close with the terms offered in a case of necessity. It is attended with some of the advantages, without any of the sacrifices and restraints, of an actual alliance. And it keeps open the chapter of accidents in which the politicians of this country delight to put their trust".

Soon after the termination of the negotiations the chief minister of Jaipur publicly declared that he had never authorized Shankar Das and other *vakils* to agree to any stipulation for the payment of money to the British Government. When Metcalfe confronted the *vakils* with this declaration, they said that the minister was afraid to acknowledge 'the extent of the payment to which he had agreed' lest he should be driven from office by those chiefs who were opposed to the British alliance. Metcalfe accepted this explanation as worthy of belief and wrote a letter of protest to the Raja and the minister. He remarked, "Either the negotiators had agreed to those stipulations in disobedience of their instructions, in which case they deserved punishment and were not fit to be employed, or the court, after giving assent to those stipulations, had uttered a falsehood in denying it....in either case it would be difficult to place any confidence in the future

negotiations of the Court'''. The Raja sent an evasive reply, which appeared to imply that the agents had 'agreed to more than they had authority for', but it was recognized that the sum of money to be paid had been the principal subject of discussion*.

In March, 1817, Metcalfe reported to the Supreme Government that Amir Khan was again advancing towards Jaipur. His progress created alarm in Jaipur, and Metcalfe found 'some light indication of a desire' to revive negotiations for British protection¹. Before the negotiations were formally resumed Lord Hastings arrived at his final decision to crush the Pindaris. Sindhia, Holkar and Amir Khan were the three principal persons whose co-operation or submission was an essential preliminary to the success of this plan. Holkar was asked 'to abstain from all interference or connection with the states of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Udaipur, Kota and Bundi'. Amir Khan, who had already opened negotiations for a settlement with the British Government, was required to withdraw his troops from all Rajput States and to restore Rajput forts occupied by him. With regard to the Rajput States the Governor-General's plan was to establish a barrier against the revival of the predatory system or the extension of the power of Sindhia and Holkar beyond the limits to be assigned to it by the measures then (October, 1817) in progress. Agree-

1 S. C., February 4, 1817, No. 1.

2 S. C., April 19, 1817, No. 2.

3 S. C., April 19, 1817, No. 2.

ments were to be concluded with them "on conditions which should give to the British Government the entire control over their political relations and proceedings with each other and with foreign States, secure to them the enjoyment of their territorial possessions and the independent exercise of their internal administration under our protection and guarantee, and render their resources available for defraying the charge that will be incurred in the establishment and support of this system".

There were two alternative methods of giving the new 'system' a concrete shape. The three principal Rajput States—Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipur—might be combined in a common league under the paramount authority of the British Government, or separate agreements might be concluded with each State 'on the conditions best adapted to its peculiar circumstances and situation'. The Secretary to the Supreme Government observed in a letter to Metcalfe, dated October 8, 1817, "There are some points of view in which the advantages of the former might be found to preponderate, but it may be apprehended that, notwithstanding the similarity of features which in some respects they all exhibit, there are yet such distinctions as to render it difficult to frame any system of general confederation which would adapt itself to the circumstances of all. It is possible also that feelings of pride or jealousy might lead them to prefer a separate alliance with the British Government, by which each would preserve the appearance and form of a subs-

tantive power, to an union which would bring their common dependence on the British Government too prominently forward".

With regard to Jaipur Metcalfe was instructed to conclude a treaty containing the stipulations previously agreed upon, with one exception: the article relating to the right of the British Government to decide the pecuniary claims of other States on Jaipur was to be omitted. Lord Hastings was by this time convinced that neither Sindhia nor Holkar was justly entitled to claim tribute from Jaipur. It was, therefore, quite unnecessary to insist on a stipulation which had 'proved to be so repugnant to the wishes and alarming to the fears of the Government of Jaipur.' Moreover, the amount of the subsidy originally demanded might be reduced, and the unqualified demand of a fort for stationing British troops might not be necessary ².

In October, 1817, Metcalfe was ready to receive the *vakils* of Jaipur, but Jagat Singh still 'persevered in a very perverse policy' and continued unaccountable, and judging from the past, interminable and mutually faithless negotiations with

1 S. C., October 28, 1817, No. 26.

2 S. C., October 28, 1817, No. 26.

3 Tod says, "...there were abundance of private and individual motives arrayed in hostility to the British offer. For example, the ministers dreaded the surveillance of a resident agent, as obnoxious to their authority and influence; and the chieftains, whom rank and ancient usage kept at court as the councillors of their prince, saw in prospect the surrender of crown lands, which fraud, favour, or force had obtained for them".—*Annals of Amber*, Chap. IV.

Amir Khan¹. Towards the close of November Metcalfe decided that an advance of Ochterlony's army towards Jaipur would 'bring the procrastinating council of the Raja to a decision in favour of the immediate conclusion of the alliances.' A treaty had already been concluded with Amir Khan (November 9, 1817), and Major-General Donkin was proceeding towards Kota. At this favourable moment Ochterlony might appear near Jaipur and utilise the implied threat of military operations for the purpose of coercing Jagat Singh into submission. Metcalfe wrote to him on November 25, 1817, "On your advance the negotiations with the several western states, which I was instructed to undertake, will devolve on you, with the exception of such as in consequence of the progress already made in them, it may be proper for me to conclude"².

The advance of Major-General Ochterlony 'caused considerable sensation and alarm' in Jaipur. Some *vakils* were sent to his camp 'to ward off apprehended hostilities', and a deputation advanced in a hurry towards Delhi. Amir Khan had in the meanwhile retreated from Jaipur territory, but he reoccupied some districts as soon as he heard that negotiations with Metcalfe had not yet begun. Naturally Metcalfe expected that his object would be accomplished without further delay. Unfortunately the progress of the *vakils* sent to Delhi was retarded by the intrigues of a chief named Thakur

¹ S. C., November 14, 1817, No. 50.

² S. C., December 19, 1817, No. 112.

Lachman Singh, a partisan of Amir Khan¹. In January, 1818, Metcalfe began to negotiate separately with some tributary Chiefs² owing allegiance to the Raja of Jaipur. "My object," he wrote on January 29, 1818, "is twofold: either to alarm the Court of Jaipur and stimulate them to the conclusion of a suitable alliance, by showing that we are not entirely dependent on their will but are able and willing to establish order without their concurrence; or if the Court should continue so senseless as not to be moved by the prospect of the dissolution of its power over the dependent States connected with it, to lay a foundation for the conclusion of separate engagements which should bring all those States under our protection."³

As a result of Metcalfe's shrewd diplomatic pressure the Jaipur *vakils* came to Dshli. The tribute question protracted the negotiations. Even on March 8, 1818, Metcalfe was not confident of success⁴. He wanted fifteen lakhs; the *vakils* offered two lakhs and forty thousand. At last the following arrangement was agreed upon: "The first year—in consideration of the depopulated state of the country—nothing. The second year—four lakhs. The third year—five. The fourth year—six. The

¹ Lachman Singh enjoyed 'a compact and improving country, containing 500 towns and villages, yielding a revenue of eight lakhs of rupees'.—Tod, *Annals of Amber*, Chap. VII.

² A conditional engagement was concluded with the Raja of Khetri, (S. C., February 20, 1818, No. 26).

³ S. C., February 20, 1818, No. 26.

⁴ Political Consultations, Imperial Record Department, March 27, 1818, No. 19.

fifth year—seven. The sixth year and ever afterwards—eight, until the Raja's revenue should exceed forty lakhs, when, in addition to eight lakhs, we should receive five-sixteenth of all the revenue above forty lakhs". Tod observes, "The Jeypur Court justly deemed one-fifth (eight lakhs) of the gross revenues of the crown, a high rate of insurance for protection; but when we further stipulated for a prospective increase of nearly one-third of all surplus revenue beyond forty lakhs, they saw, instead of the generous Briton, a sordid trafficker of mercenary protection, whose rapacity transcended that of the Mahratta"².

The remaining articles of the treaty were discussed and arranged without difficulty³. It was signed in Delhi on April 2 and ratified by Lord Hastings on April 15. Article 1 provided for 'perpetual friendship, alliance and unity of interest' between the two States. The territory of Jaipur was to be protected by the British Government (Article 2). Jagat Singh promised to 'act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government', to acknowledge its supremacy, and to maintain no connection with other Chiefs and States. (Article 3). He agreed not to enter into any negotiation with

¹ S. C., April 17, 1818, No. 74.

² *Annals of Amber*, Chap. IV.

³ S. C., April 17, 1818, No. 74. Tod says, "The events rapidly happening around them—the presence of Meer Khan, the expulsion of the orange flag of the Mahratta, and the substitution of the British banner on the battlements of Ajmere—at length produced a tardy and ungracious assent...."—*Annals of Amber*, Chap. IV.

any Chief or State without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government. (Article 4). All disputes between Jaipur and other States would be submitted to the arbitration and award of the British Government. (Article 5). Article 6 regulated the question of tribute. Article 7 provided that Jaipur should 'furnish troops according to its means at the requisition of the British Government'. Article 9 ran as follows: "The Maharaja and his heirs and successors shall remain absolute rulers of their territory and their dependants according to long established usage ; and British civil and criminal Jurisdiction shall not be introduced into that principality"¹. Jagat Singh died within a few months of the conclusion of this treaty (December 21, 1818), and, says Tod, "the choice of a successor speedily evinced to the ministers the impracticability of their exercising as in days of yore, that 'absolute power over their country and dependants' guaranteed to them' by the treaty"².

1 Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements, and Sunnuds*, Vol. III, pp. 104-105.

2 For details, see *Annals of Amber*, Chap. IV.

EXTRACTS FROM A CONTEMPORARY
DUTCH CHRONICLE OF
MUGHAL INDIA

B₁ BRIJ NARAIN AND SRI RAM SHARMA

Towards the close of the first year of his reign⁷⁶ in 1015, A. H. Jahāngīr called Amīr-ul-Umrā, (Sharīf Khān), his greatest and most favoured noble, into Khilwat or private parlour, and asked him what he thought of his son Khusrau; his own feeling was that he was inclined towards evil (and wished) to cause a rising or split in the empire. Amīr-ul-Umrā replied that in order to prevent such an occurrence his son should be deprived of sight. The king was much troubled by this advice, and he anxiously considered what was the best course to adopt concerning the matter. Finally some friends or followers of Khusrau (who were in the King's service) informed him that his father was not well-disposed towards him, and wanted to have him watched. Khusrau was frightened and resolved to fly and get away from his father. With this object he wrote to his friend Hasan Beg Khān Badakhasī (who, some time before, had been sent by King Akbar to Kabul to bring some good horses, and was now returning) that he wanted to leave Āgra and proceed to Lahore with the troops that he (Khusrau) could secretly gather, and that he (Hasan Beg Khān) should not fail to march rapidly and to

meet him at Āgra with the forces that he had with him. On receiving this letter Hasan Beg Khān instantly set out⁷⁷ and by forced marches arrived at Akbar Pur (Muttra), which is 24 coss from Āgra. When Khusrau learnt about his arrival there, he immediately informed the nobles devoted to him and young and brave soldiers, who were in his service, about his intention. At four garhi in the evening, he left the castle of Āgra seated in the *ambary* of a swift-footed elephant, and followed by his troops, who had prepared themselves for such an expedition.⁷⁸ When they reached the chabutra or where the Kotwal used to sit, Ghazi Malik, Kotwal or scout, was still there. But hearing that Sultan Khusrau had escaped,⁷⁹ he got up and hid himself. Thus they passed (out) rapidly. Extinguishing all lights, the troops plundered all sweet-meat-shops, to have enough to eat for some time. At five ghari in the evening Khusrau reached Bahishtabad (Sikandra), where his grandfather Akbar lies buried. Here he dismounted and offered a prayer at the grave. He then resumed the journey, and with incredible speed reached Akbar Pur before day break. Here he met Husan Beg Khan with 2000 or 3000 brave soldiers, and with them set off without delay towards Lahore. The news of Khusrau's flight was brought to the King in the first quarter of the same night. He immediately commanded the Kotwal, Ghazi Malik Ali, to start in pursuit without delay with the cavalry that he had. Ghazi Malik left Āgra with 200 to 300 horses at the end of the first quarter of the night. Then the King commanded Murtza Khan to get

ready and he left Agra the same night with 1500 horse. After that the King called together some of his most trusted followers who were at hand, (one of them being the Amir-ul-Umra, his principal Wazir) with the object of sending them also in pursuit. But he advised the King to take the matter seriously and to act with greater energy and said that it was better that he should follow himself, in order to be more certain of putting out the fire of rebellion which had just broken out, for no help could be expected from the army led by the particular Umra. The advice of the Amīr-ul-Umrā pleased the King, and he left Āgra very early in the morning, accompanied by some Umra, and a few elephants with a long and swift stride. He had 1000 horses with him, or a little more or less, and on account of the haste it was not possible to take tents, carpets or beds to sleep inst. Thus Sultan Khusrau was not more than 10 coss ahead of Malik Ali; Murtza Khan (Bakshi Farid) followed Malik Ali at a distance of 10 coss, and the King followed Murtza Khan at the same distance. Sultan Khusrau showed no regard for any one in the places he passed through. He took from the karoris or mansabdars their horses and all that was of use to him, and ill-treated the peasants and other inhabitants. He also forced all merchants or soldiers whom he met to accompany him. And wherever, in town or villages, there were horses in the King's stables he impressed them into his service. Thus on the 9th day after leaving Agra, Sultan Khusrau reached Lahore with a tolerable army collected on the way. But before Khusrau's flight, the King had sent

Ibrahim Khan Pathan⁸² to Lahore as Governor, and he was still on the way. When he heard, and had made sure, that Sultan Khusrau was following him, he made all haste and reached Lahore before the Prince, and put the castle in a state of defence. Sultan Khusrau was much concerned as to how he should take the castle. At this time, before the Prince's arrival, Said Khan had proceeded 2 or 3 Coss from Lahore on his way to Bangesh⁸³, Sultan Khusrau despatched some Ahadis to call Sayyid Khan. He came with the Ahidis to the Rawi, but there gave them the slip and set off towards Lahore. The Ahadis immediately informed the Prince that instead of returning with them he had gone to the town. In the meantime Said Khan having got rid of the Ahadis, took a boat and entered the castle through the gate Roshnai. He ordered his soldiers to take such of their goods as could be saved and then fled. Sultan Khusrau invested the town and attacked it for several days,⁸⁴ fighting both day and night. Here Khan Jamal-ud-Din came to the Prince on behalf of the King and said that his father was giving him the Province of Kabul and Bangash, and therefore he should leave Lahore and proceed thither. Sultan Khusrau replied that he should return to his father and persuade him to give to him the whole Province of Sirhind as well which would satisfy him. Jamel-ud-Din returned to the King with the answer⁸⁵. The Prince then learnt that the King had crossed the river of Sultan Pur (the Beas) and that Murtza Khan was about to cross the river at Nakodor. On the 8th day (after his arrival) he left the castle of Lahore, and with his whole army,

consisting of 20,000 horses, advanced 30 cosses to meet and offer battle to his father. A great storm of wind, rain and lightening was raging that day. Murtza Khan was encamped on the place⁸⁶ before the Prince's arrival there, and he was obliged to or engage in a skirmish with his 2000 or 3000 Badakhshis or Sayyids. They were hard pressed by Sultan Khusrau's troops, and many were killed. Ghazi Jalal-ud-Din who commanded the troops, fought bravely and long, and fell in the battle. Through God's grace, however, Ghazi Malik Ali, who had lagged behind Murtza Khan, appeared at this very time. He carried the flags and the standard of the King and caused the rumour to be spread that it was the King in person who had arrived. This help encouraged the royal soldiers who were still fighting, while those of Khusrau lost heart and were frightened. Abdur-Rahim,⁸⁷ the Amir of Khusrau, who carried his standard being panic stricken, threw it on the ground. This timidity gave rise to a misunderstanding for the soldiers of the Prince thought their master had either been defeated or slain, and they all took to flight. All who had remained uninjured sought to hide themselves in villages and corners, wherever they could. But they were killed by the villagers, and all the property or baggage of the army fell into the hands of the royal troops, but horses, camels and other animals were seized upon by the village people. Thus, through God's grace, the King won a remarkable victory. When the King learnt this, he hurried to Murtza Khan and named the place where the action took place Fathabad.

After the battle Sultan Khusrau and Hasan Beg Khan Badakhshi fled towards Lahore. Abdur-Rahim, who was also with them, left them and remained in Lahore, but the Prince and Husan Beg crossed the river Rawi, intending to escape towards the castle of Rohtas. With that object they rode to the river Chenab and got into a boat in order to cross over. But when the sons of Qasim Khan who were the governors of the castle, received the intelligence that the Prince was coming to Rohtas, they ordered the guards and boatmen that when Sultan Khusrau was crossing over, they should see to it that his boat was steered towards a sand-bank in the middle of the river. And they did so⁸⁸. The boat in which Husan Beg and the Prince were sitting, ran upon a sand-bank, and the boat-men sprang into the river and swam away. When the sons of Qasim Khan, who were at a distance of 2 or 3 coss, heard that their plan had succeeded, they immediately came to the river and took Khusrau and Husan Beg Khan prisoners.

The King in person had crossed the river of Lahore in order to pursue his son, when the sons of Qasim Khan arrived and delivered the two prisoners into his hands⁸⁹. The traitor Abdur-Rahim, who was hiding in Lahore, was also caught by the King's people. The King, having got his rebellious son into his power, returned the same day to Lahore, and ordered the peasants to cut down trees and make stakes, sharply pointed above, and to fix them into the ground on both sides all along the road, on which, as also on all trees growing round Lahore, all the traitorous Amirs, who had been

captured alive, were to be impaled or hanged, to serve as a spectacle or example to every one. In accordance with this order, many or almost all of those who had been captured, were put to death ^{89(a)}. When all the nobles had been hanged or impaled, the King personally went to see the sight as a pastime, taking his son Sultan Khusrau, mounted on an elephant, with him. They rode through the dead nobles, who filled both sides of the road, Zaman Beg, now called Mahabat Khan, was seated behind the Prince, in order to introduce the head to Khusrau, and tell him their names. And as the corpses were dangling or swinging on account of the wind, he said to Khusrau, "Sultan, see how your soldiers fight against trees". After the ride the King came to Lahore, and gave the Prince in the custody of Zaman Beg. He ordered Husan Beg Badakhshi, who had been captured with the Prince, to be sewn up in a raw ox-skin, and he died suffering great pain and torments. After that his head was cut off, stuffed with grass and sent by runners to Agra, to be hung on the gates of the castle. Abdul-Rahim was sewn up in an ass's skin, but the order was given that water should be constantly poured on the skin to prevent it from drying up. After that his offence was pardoned and he was taken out of the skin alive.

After the victory the King spent two or three months in hunting wild animals. He again returned to Lahore and stayed there for four months. He then decided to visit Kabul, and left by daily marches. On this journey Sultan Khusrau also went as the King's prisoner, but all the Amirs and mansabdars

kept watch over him every day by turns. One day it was the turn of the Amir Fathulla, Mirza Shariff, son of Itimad-ud-Daulah, Mirza Nur-ud-Din and the nephew (brother's son) of the great Asaf Khan, Mirza Jafar Beg, and other Amirs, who had come together for keeping watch. They secretly and jointly conspired to kill the King when he should reach the Kothel, or the narrow pass of the Kabul mountains, and to raise Sultan Khusrau to the throne. But they could not carry out their design for want of a suitable opportunity, and the King safely arrived in Kabul⁹⁰.

Itimad-ud-Din, Diwan or Chancellor of Amir-ul-Umra, had a heathen in his service named Uttam Chand, who told Diyanat Khan that Itimad-ud-Daulah had misappropriated 50,000 ropia. Diyanat Khan told the King whereupon Itimad-ud-Daulah was placed in the custody of this Khan.

In the year 1018 the King learnt that Sher Afghan, the son-in-law of Itimad-ud-Daulah, had killed Qutb-ud-Din Muhammad Khan Koka, the governor-general of the whole of Bengal, near Raja Mahal, and that by way of vengeance, the brother (sister's son), of Qutb-ud-Din named Shaikh Ghias-ud-Din and the son of Qutb-ud-Din named Kishwar Khan, had cut to pieces with arrows and their swords the traitor Sher Afghan, and sent his head to the King. After that the brother of Sher Afghan, Qumar Sultan, his son and his widow Mehu-un-Nasa, who was the daughter of Itimad-ud-Daulah were all thrown into prison and treated with ignominy and

dishonour of a thousand kind. When the King learnt about these occurrences he was exceedingly angry with Itimad-ud-Daulah (more so than before) on account of the murder of Qutb-ud-Din which had been committed by his son-in-law, and much grieved over it for some days⁹. He then resolved to return to Lahore from Kabul. Then Khwaja Waisi went to the King and told him (and also gave him in writing) the full names of those who had planned (an opportunity offering itself) to murder the King, that is, Mirza Nur-ud-Din and the nephew of the great Asaf Khan, called Jafar Beg, Muhammad Sharif, son of Itimad-ud-Daulah, Fathulla, son of Hakim Abul Fath and many other traitors, who had intended to kill him while he was going through the Khaibar Kotel, or pass of Kabul, and to make Sultan Khusrau king, and that they had not yet given up their design. The King was greatly incensed to hear this and commanded that Itimad-ud-Daulah with his son, and Mirza Nur-ud-Din and the son of Hakim Abdul Fath, and Jafar Beg should be brought to him with marks of ignominy and dishonour, which was instantly done, and they stood in the King's presence. He commanded that Itimad-ud-Daulah, his son Muhammad Sharif, Miaza Nur-ud-Din and Jafar Beg should be immediately beheaded, and their heads and trunks should be fixed on stakes. Then Diyanat Khan, interceding, said to the King; "What profit is there in putting Itimad-ud-Daulah to death? Since he misappropriated a great amount of the King's money while in office, it will be better to spare his life and take from him 2 lacs ropia for his offence". The King

then commanded that Itimad-ud-Doulah should be placed in the custody of Diyanat Khan and said, "Take 2 lac ropia from him and place it in my treasury". Diyanat Khan, pleased at having saved Itimad-ud-Daulah from death, put a chain round his neck and legs and brought him into his house bare-headed and bare-footed with extreme disgrace, and kept him thus. Mirza Nur-ud-Din, Muhammad Sharif and Mirza Fathullah were then led out, and in accordance with the command referred to above were put to death. Their heads and trunks were fixed on stakes, that by their example others might take heed against conceiving such evil designs against their King. After these occurrences the King left Kabul and arrived safely in Lahore. Itimad-ud-Daulah was still in Diyanat Khan's custody.

At this time the King, with the approval of all his dignitaries, as Mirza Ommerauw and others, gave orders for depriving Sultan Khusrau of sight. They took leaves called Aech and pressed out their juice. This was rubbed into his eyes as the result of which one eye completely lost the power of vision and the other retained only a little of it. To prevent any revolts which might break out, he was kept in prison.

In this year the King was seriously displeased with Khan Azam on account of Khusrau's affair, and he confiscated all that he had of money or animals, and depriving him of all rank or income, subjected him to great dishonour. Thus one day, when the King was sitting in his Jharoka, he

ordered all his Ommerauws to spit on Khan Azam's beard, and abused him. He was then thrown into chains and imprisoned in the castle of Gwalior. He spent two years of captivity in this castle, but through the intercession of some Begums or the royal ladies, he was set free and re-employed, all his guilt and offences being pardoned.

As Qutb-ud-Din Mahammad Koka had been murdered in Bengal by Sher Afgan, as I have related above, the King sent a Farman or letter to Islam Khan, who was Fojdar in Agra, or a Jack Ketch of the country round, requiring him to prepare, as soon as he saw it, to go to Bengal as governor in the place of Qutb-ud-Din, for which purpose he was made a commander of 5,000 horse. As soon as Islam Khan received the King's order, he set out for Bengal and arrived there safely with his army by rapid daily marches. All the King's Amirs and mansabdars waited upon him. They welcomed him, made their submission, acknowledged him their governor-general, and served him day and night. All the Rajas and inhabitants also came to him with many presents.⁹²

The King after spending some time in hunting in Kharjok Nandana (now in the district of Jhelum in the Punjab), and after he had emptied those places (of game), decided to go to Agra, but sent Itimad-ud-Daulah who was still a prisoner of Diyanat Khan, with his wife and family ahead to get together and pay into the royal treasury the sum of 2 lac ropia which he had forfeited in exchange for his life.

Itimad-ud-Daulah, in accordance with the King's command, set out and arrived in Agra. A little later the King also arrived in the castle, and from there he wrote a letter to Islam Khan, ordering him that the family of Sher Afghan, that is his brother and his widow, Mehr-un-Nasa, who was the daughter of Itimad-ud-Daulah be sent to the Court. When Islam Khan received this letter and command, he sent the brother (of Sher Afghan) Qumar Sultan, the widow and her daughter immediately to Agra. When Mehr-un-Nasa came to Rahaerdatt, Bihar Sharif, which is near Hajipur and Patna, she heard people talk about a Darwesh or pilgrim named Shah Hamadan of great fame and a saintly life; it was said that all he prophesied always came to pass. She, therefore, went to him. When Mehr-un-Nasa appeared before the Darwesh, he at once prophesied much happiness, saying that she would be given to the King Jahangir and (would receive) many other marks of unexpected good fortune which she herself could never believe. Leaving that place they arrived safely in Agra and were conducted to the King. He put the brother and the son of Sher Afghan in the charge of some of his Amirs and Mehr-un-Nasa with her daughter in the charge of Ragiyok Sultan Begum, his mother. This Begum conceived a great affection for Mehr-un-Nasa; she loved her more than others and always kept her in her company. Sometimes they asked for leave to visit her parents, which was granted to them. Once Ragiyok Sultan Begum took Mehr-un-Nasa into the Mahal where the concubines of the King, her son, were gathered together. The

King coming there saw Mehr-un-Nasa, who had covered her face with a chaddar or cloth. He drew it back and saw her face. This was what happened that day.

A few days later there was the feast of Nauroza, or the new Muhammadan year. When the King was enjoying himself in the company of his ladies, the daughter of Mehr-un-Nasa Begum who was then 5 or 6 years old, went to him or was sent to him. Then the eyes of the King fell upon Mehr-un-Nasa and he said to her jokingly and with a merry countenance : " I am the father of that child ". Mehr-un-Nasa replied humbly : " God save your Majesty. Who am I that should please the King and be included among the King's women? Permit me, a poor, innocent widow, to live in the same condition under your shadow (*i. e.* protection). But be kind to my poor daughter and remember her", and she prayed to God to save the King from all misfortune.

This is what passed between the King and Mehr-un-Nasa in this second meeting, that of Nauroz. At length the King fell passionately in love with Mehr-un-Nasa, and every evening went by water in a boat to the house of Itimad-ud-Daulah on her account. He used to remain there the whole night, and returned again by water to the castle in the morning to deal with the affairs (of the State). This was for him a revival of old affection, for while Akbar still lived, and this Jahangir was Prince he had been attracted by Mehr-un-Nasa, before she had been betrothed to the Turk Sher Afghan, and he earnestly begged

his father to give Mehr-un-Nasa, the daughter of Itimad-ud-Daulah to him in marriage. Akbar was not at all willing to permit this marriage. He said, "She is already betrothed to Sher Afghan. Are there not women enough that you should marry a retainer, who is promised to one of my Turkish soldiers?" His father tried his best to drive (this idea) out of his head, but since that time the Prince had always retained a certain amount of affection for Mehr-un-Nasa⁹³.

These visits lasted for 40 days, and the King out of love for Mehr-un-Nasa, went to the house of Itimad-ud-Daulah during the day and in the night. One day he called Khwaja Abdul Hasan and ordered him to go to Itimad-ud-Daulah and say on his behalf that the King wished to marry Mehr-un-Nasa, and to make her the chief of all his women or concubines. Whereupon Khwaja Abdul Hasan remonstrated that he should not blemish his name and rank for such a one (as Mehr-un-Nasa), and every one knew who Mehr-un-Nasa and her father were, and that she was no partner for the King. These words deeply offended the King, and he said, "How does it concern you, and why don't you carry out my order"? Finally seeing that he could not dissuade the King from his purpose he went to Itimad-ud-Daulah and told him what the King had commanded. On receiving these joyful news Itimad-ud-Daulah made Sijida and Taslim for the King and replied; "That my poor, innocent daughter pleases the King is an inexpressible honour for me. How am I, the least of his servant, worthy of it"? Khwaja Abul

Hasan conveyed this to the King, who asked his soothsayers to fix an auspicious day, on which he went to the house of Itimad-ud-Daulah to marry Mehr-un-Nassa. A Qazi, or one learned in the law, was called, who married them. After this, great celebrations and feasts were held and all the Amirs presented to the King a large quantity of *Ashrafies* and much gold and silver, with prayers for their happiness. The name Mehr-un-Nassa was changed into Nur Jahan Begum or the Light of the World, and she was loved and respected above other begums or great ladies. The King rewarded Itimad-ud-Daulah by appointing him commander of 5000 horse. The brother's son and others of her family were also made high dignitaries.

In the year 1020, the sixth of the reign of King Jahangir, Nawab Murtza Khan⁹⁴, with Sultan Shahr Yar, the youngest son of the King, was sent to Gujarat⁹⁵ as Governor-general. Khan Jahan, with many Amirs, was also ordered to proceed to Burhan Pur⁹⁶, Khan-i-Khanan got the Province of Kher⁹⁷ (probably now a Tehsil in the district of Aligarh in the United Provinces) as Jagir and Mahabat Khan led an army against Raja Rana Mardud⁹⁸.

In the same year, the Persian King Abbas sent an envoy named Zambil Beg⁹⁹, with 300 Persian horses, a great quantity of all kinds of gold, cloths, and embroidered dresses of his country, and a number of male and female slaves from Turkistan and Cacausus. Zambil Beg was one of the greatest dignitaries of Shah Abbas, and when he was drawing near, the biggest Amirs were sent to receive

him. They conducted him to the King, who received him with the greatest attention. He delivered to Jahangir the letter of his master, which was written in a brotherly and friendly style, and all the presents which he had brought with him, were now displayed. Zambil Beg showed no less attention to the King than had been shown to him, and kissed the feet of the takht or the throne of the King when the letter of Shah Abbas was being read. The King was delighted, and bestowed upon the envoy elephants, horses and many dresses of honour.

Islam Khan, who had been sent to Bengal as Governor-general, conquered the country of Raja Kuch and brought it under the King's authority. Musa Khan, the son of Isa Khan, the chief of the dignitaries of the Provinces, was subdued, and with eleven others he submitted to Islam Khan.

Mahabat Khan, formerly called Zaman Beg, who had been sent¹⁰⁰ by the King with many Amirs under him, against Raja Rana, conquered for the King a little portion of the country of Rana Mardud. He was then recalled by the King to Agra, and Abulla Khan with almost all the Amirs, was sent in his place to carry on the war against Raja Rana. Abdulla Khan with his army set out from Agra towards that part of the country. When he reached Ajmer, Raja Rana sent a large number of his Rajputs ahead to stop his advance. Abdulla Khan drove back and routed these Kafirs or heathens, and they fled to the boundaries of Udaipur. Abdulla Khan brought the whole of that tract

under his authority and all Rajput women and children were made prisoners and enslaved. After this Abdulla Khan advanced against the fortress of Chawand, which was the place of residence of the Rana and of his ancestors. No King of Delhi had ever attempted to reduce this fort on account of its strong position and vast wilderness, high mountains and deep valleys which, by preventing an army from obtaining a foot-hold in that country rendered it invincible. But Abdulla Khan, as he advanced, had the forest cut down, and all narrow passes in the mountains opened and widened by great number of stone-cutters, so that he arrived close to the fortress. When the Rana received this intelligence, with his women and some Rajputs he escaped from the other side of the castle Chawand into the forests and the mountains, leaving 2000 to 3000 Rajputs in the fortress, well supplied with victuals, guns, powder and shot, to fight Abdulla Khan. When Abdulla Khan came in sight of the fortress, he found that it was very high and surrounded by a jungle or bamboos. He therefore sent 2000 to 3000 wood-cutters under the protection of his troops to cut down the jungle. With the trees and bamboos that had been cut down, he then constructed redoubts and high bulwarks round the fortress, and captured it in a few days. The Rajputs who were within the fort to the number of 2000 to 3000, were slain and all their women and children were made prisoners. Their pagodas, or devil's houses, about a thousand years old, were razed to the ground and the construction of a massit (mosque) on the same place was ordered.

He then forwarded all the big idols which had been standing in the pagodas of the kafirs to the King at Agra. After capturing the fort Chawand Abdulla Khan started in pursuit of the fugitive Raja Rana, covering 30 to 40 coss daily and marching so rapidly that sometimes the Kafirs getting news (of his approach) while sitting and eating, had to leave (the meal) and take to their heels in order to escape falling into the hands (of the enemy); and the meal was enjoyed by the royal troops. Abdulla Khan pursued the Raja Rana for a year, who fled like a sheep from one cave to another. He brought the country through which he passed and which had been abandoned by the Rana's governors, under his own authority.¹⁰¹

After this victory¹⁰² the king appointed Abdulla Khan governor general of Gujarat, and ordered him to go there with his forces to administer the country and to clear the roads of Bhils, Grassias and Kolis,¹⁰³ who used to attack the cafilas or traders and to plunder them. They were to be subdued and to pay tribute; if they refused, they were to be exterminated as an example to others.

When Abdulla Khan arrived (there), all the Rajas and inhabitants, great chiefs of the Kolis, who had rebelled and others waited upon him with presents. They all welcomed him and acknowledged him their overlord, with the exception of Raja (of) Idar and Lal Koli who, confiding in his forces and the natural position of the country, which was strong, had always refused to submit. Abdulla Khan, having arrived in Ahmadabad, set out at night with 500 horse and young and brave men

for the fort of Idar, which is 70 coss from Ahmedabad and reached the fort in the 7th quarter of the night and day. This rapidity (of movement) was not expected by any one and the Raja received no intelligence or warning (of Abdulla Khan's approach). When the Raja heard that Abdulla Khan was at the gate, he sallied out and fought for a whole quarter of the night, but in the end was defeated, and fled with only 4 or 5 of his followers. Abdulla Khan entered the fort and took possession in the name of the King of the treasure.*

* For other extracts, see J.B.O.R.S. June 1942.

THE HERON WILL NOT TWIRL HIS MOUSTACHE

By W. G. ARCHER

I

In this paper¹ I shall try to give a short account of village poetry in Chota Nagpur, the reasons why that poetry should be collected and printed and finally the possible connections between tribal poetry and the mass literacy movement.

Now to any one living in Ranchi it would be natural to assume that village poetry in Chota Nagpur is confined to the tribes—to Uraons, Mundas and Kharias—and that outside the tribes, there is no poetry. But such a view would be quite wrong and although in this lecture, I want to concentrate on tribal poetry—the folk songs of the tribes—I shall start by saying a little about that other big area of village poetry—the poetry of the various Hindu castes. This will not only help to complete a picture of folk songs in Chota Nagpur but it will also provide us with a background against which tribal poetry may be seen.

¹ A lecture on the 'Folk-Songs of Chotanagpur' delivered at the Mass Literacy Summer School in Ranchi in 1941.

If we take the village poetry of such Hindu castes as Brahmans, Kayasthas, Rajputs and Ahirs and regard it as a social activity, we shall find that it differs from the poetry of the tribes in the following ways. In the first place, it is on the whole domestic and is not public. It is sung inside the house and not out in the village. Secondly, it is sung almost entirely by women and not by men and women mixed. Thirdly, it does not go with dancing and is sung without any drums. To this general statement, however, there are two important exceptions. The first is the poetry which is sung while the paddy is being transplanted. This is sung out in the fields and is as public as any poetry could be. And the second is the poetry of the Ahirs. This is sung by Ahir men when they are grazing their cows and buffaloes or when they are drinking. It is a muscular form of male poetry and is sung with a male gusto. But, if we bear in mind these two exceptions, we may sum up the poetry of the Hindu castes by saying that in the first place, it is domestic, in the second place it is feminine and finally it has no connection with dancing.

If we now turn to the occasions on which this poetry is sung, we shall also find certain similarities with tribal poetry but we shall also find a contrast. The occasions are, broadly speaking, six. The first and most important occasion is marriage. At almost every stage of a marriage, a throng of women will be found busily singing songs. These songs act as a commentary on the ritual. Some of them narrate the story of divine marriages such as the marriage of Shiva and Gauri or Ram and Sita.

Some of them describe the appearance of the bridegroom. Some of them taunt the guests and give them *gali*. They combine to build up an atmosphere of gaiety and good luck. The second occasion is child birth. As soon as a child has been born, *Sohars* are sung. The object of these is to cheer up the mother and swell the general rejoicing. The remaining four occasions are when women are grinding paddy, when they are sitting lonely at home in the Rains, when they are out transplanting paddy and finally in the evenings when they have nothing to do except to amuse themselves.

The characteristics of these Hindu songs will be evident if I give a few examples. The first is a Kayasth Sohar song—a song sung after a woman has had a child.

Two stories has the house Raja Dasrath has built
But I do not like it without a balcony
A tank Raja Dasrath has dug
But I do not like it without a temple
A grove Raja Dasrath has planted
But I do not like it without a Koel
A bed Raja Dasrath has made
But I do not like it without a son

This song is of importance for it illustrates two characteristics of Hindu songs—one is the technical device of building up a series of parallel images—on the one hand, the house, the tank, the grove and the bed and on the other, the balcony, the temple, the koel and the baby boy. And the other is its reference to Raja Dasrath. (In the poem, Raja Dasrath is a symbol of the woman's husband and the woman is using Raja Dasrath's

childlessness as an argument against her own husband). In Hindu folk songs, Dasrath, Ram, Sita, Shiva, Gauri and Krishna are continually present—partly as symbols for the bride and bridegroom or the husband and the wife and partly in their own right as subjects of the songs. We should not be understanding Hindu village poetry if we did not remember that half of it is religious and that religious names and situations are essential material for it.

The second poem is a *Ropni* or cultivation song. It describes how a *netua*—a man of a caste that does tattooing—comes and tattoos a girl and then goes away with her husband's sister.

From an eastern part comes a *netua*
 Is there any young girl who wants to be tattooed?
 A slender lady comes from the house
 I would like to be tattooed
 He has tattooed her arms
 He has tattooed her knees
 And her lovely chest he has tattooed
 O *netua*, will you take in return
 Some *sawa* and *kodu*?
 Or would you like
 My husband's little sister?
 The husband has ploughed and dug
 And comes to sit by his eaves
 Every one is merry
 But where is my little sister?
 From the east came a storm
 From the west came the rain
 And the storm took away your sister
 O grind me some *satu*
 And after her I'll start
 He's gone to one jungle

He's gone to another
And in the third he finds
The *netua* and his sister
Take a basket of gold
And return me my sister
Your basket I'll burn
But I'll never give back your sister.
With me she used to eat
And with me she used to play
And she isn't my sister?
With you she may have eaten
With you she may have played
But to me she is married
Your wife I tattooed
And she gave her to me.

This poem illustrates a type of Hindu village poetry which corresponds to the English ballad. It takes a situation and builds a story round it. It also illustrates a technical device—the method of using a conversation without saying who it is that is talking.

The third poem is a *Gajal*—a poem which women sing to amuse themselves with in the evenings.

A husband must not be small, O friend
A husband must not be small
A little husband who was sent for water
Came back home with a broken pot
Oh that little husband
A little husband who was sent for *ganja*
Came back home with a broken *chelum*
Oh that little husband
A little husband who was sent to court
Came back home with the papers spoilt
Came back home with a broken pen

Oh that little husband
O mother Ganga and mother Sarju
Gather and bear off little boys
Pebbles and stones have all been drowned
Gather and bear off little boys
Oh that little husband.

If we now turn to the tribal poetry of Chota Nagpur—the poetry of the Uraons, Mundas, Kharias—we shall find a poetry and a poetry situation markedly different. In the first place, the poetry is public and almost always goes with dancing. Secondly, it is sung both by men and women dancing together. Thirdly, it uses hardly any mythology. Ram and Krishna have no place in tribal poems. Fourthly, there are no ballads and hardly any long poems. Almost all the poems are only of four or eight lines. And finally, although tribal poetry like Hindu village poetry sometimes describes a situation and tells a story, it very frequently aims at something quite different. This other aim is to put two images together so that they will delight, startle or amuse.

What is meant by putting two images together will be clearer if I give some examples and since for understanding tribal poetry, we cannot do better than start with tribal riddles, I will begin with two riddles—an Uraon one and a Munda one.

A black goat grazes on a blackhill.

The answer to this Uraon riddle is a razor. The razor is the black goat and the hair on the chin is the black hill, and just as a goat nibbles the grass on a hill, the razor clears the hair on the chin.

Here is a Munda riddle: *The white man who always goes to the sky.* The answer to this is smoke. The smoke is white and it goes upwards and this is compared to a white man who goes to the sky.

In both these riddles what has happened is this.

Two widely different things have been taken and have been put together—in the case of the Uraon riddle, a razor and a goat, and hair and a hill and in the case of the Munda riddle, a white man and smoke. Normally one would not have thought there was any connection between them but the riddle picks them up and suddenly puts them in a new light. It is this sudden fusion which startles, delights or amuses.

If we now turn to some Uraon poems, we shall see the same method at work.

Here is an Uraon poem for the Sarhul festival.

The modern girl
Is soft as a caterpillar
Feei her, girl
Soft as a caterpillar.

In this poem, such widely different objects as a girl and a caterpillar are brought together and put side by side. As a result we see a lazy girl in a new light and the caterpillar is also not quite the same.

Here are two more Uraon Karam poems.—

I

Like a red flower
Sounds the drum

In the dark
Sounds the flute
At the drum's sound
Sleep does not come
The drowsy girl
Comes to look.

II

From Dandu comes a drum' O girl
A maina girl
A peacock girl
Is coming
Girl, look over your shoulder
A maina girl
A peacock girl
Is coming.

In both of these poems the object is to give delight by putting two images together. In the first poem, the beating of a drum is made more vivid by being compared to the violent impact on the eye of a red flower and the red flower is made more vivid by being compared to the beating of a drum. In the second poem, the girl and the peacock, the girl and the maina are put together and both of them become delightful from their fusion.

In these three poems, the putting together of images is made clear either by the use of a word such as 'like'—'like a red flower sounds a drum'—or by using an image as an adjective—'a peacock girl'. But there is a very important class of Uraon poems in which the same method is at work but instead of both the two images being put in the poem, one is put in and the other is left out, to be guessed.

Here is an Uraon marriage poem in which this method is at work.

The cobra comes
With her hood raised
Asking alms
The heron comes
With his neck straight
Twirling his moustache
The frog comes
Diving and swimming.

At first sight, this is meaningless. Who is the cobra and why should she be asking alms? Who is the heron? Who is the frog and why should he be diving and swimming? To find the answer we have only to recall the riddle of the black goat grazing on the black hill. This also was meaningless until we discovered its unseen connection. When that connection was discovered, all was plain. Similarly, with the poem, we have only to find the connection and all becomes clear. This connection will be found in the circumstances of an Uraon marriage. To Uraons these circumstances are obvious enough and just as it would spoil a riddle to let the answer out at once, the meaning of the cobra, the heron and the frog is kept outside and is not put in the poem. It hangs just outside it for all Uraons to see. The poem actually relates to a bridegroom's party arriving at the house of the bride. The cobra is an old and dominating member of the party who is demanding that the bride's parents should give the party a feast. The heron is the bridegroom looking smart and twirling his moustache. The frog is one

of the boys in the party leaping and dancing as the party goes along.

Here is another Uraon marriage poem.

I ploughed with a brown bullock
I planted paddy
The paddy has ripened
The pet parrot comes to steal
The sparrow comes to steal.

Here also everything is not quite so simple as it seems. This poem is not simply about a parrot, a sparrow and the paddy. The paddy is actually a daughter who is ripe for marriage and the parrot and sparrow are negotiators who have come to the house to negotiate her marriage. If they succeed, it will be as if she has been stolen, for the girl will be taken away and will have to live in her husband's house.

Here is a further Uraon marriage poem.

The water in the pool, mother
The water in the pool is shining
The water in the pool glistens
The turtle r a n i in the palace
Goes with the otter r a j a.

Any one who did not understand Uraon poetry might ask : What is this curious marriage? Why should a turtle be going with an otter? To the Uraons, the answer is as clear as the moon. The pool of glittering water is the girl's house where the marriage has been taking place. The turtle rani is the girl herself and the otter raja is the boy who is taking her back to his home. Here, as in the riddle of the black goat and the poem of

the cobra, two sets of widely differing things are suddenly brought together and their simultaneous presence delights, startles and amuses.

This method of putting one image in and leaving one out is not however confined to marriage poems and I will quote two Karam poems in which the same process is at work.

What a grand girl you are
But you are new to the village
Do not go to the rice lands, girl
A jackal stays there in the morning
Girl, do not go down to the rice lands.

I am afraid one would be very innocent if one thought that this jackal that stays in the rice lands in the morning was really a jackal. It is true that only a jackal is mentioned but the meaning is clear. The jackal is, of course, a boy and the image is not one image but two images pressed together.

The other poem is :

Girl, you went to pick flowers
And dallied in the crab hole
Young men, you set out for the Karam
And dallied in the tiger's den.

In this poem both the crab and the tiger are really a boy and it is left to the Uraon sense of humour to provide the key.

This method of making poems, is not, of course, the only tribal method. There are other poems such as the following which conveys a reflection on life before marriage :

Girl
The white blossom in the ear
Will it last ?
The scarlet on the brow

Will stay till death·

Will the white blossom in the ear

Last ?

Or the following poem which is a comment on dancing :

What a naughty world

With the boys and girls dancing together

Never trust a boy in the morning

When the boys and girls are dancing together 1.

There are many poems of this kind. But the poems which I have quoted earlier are nearer to the essentials of tribal poetry. It is this method of making poems which is truly tribal and which gives the songs of the tribes their unique value.

II

I should like to go on quoting more Uraon poems but if I did so, I should have little time for the other points on which I also wish to say a little. I must therefore pass to the second part of this lecture—the reasons why the tribal poetry of Chota Nagpur should be recorded and printed.

Now, the first thing which a critic in Ranchi might say is this. 'Every night we hear the sound of singing close to the town. We see Uraon and Munda girls walking down the main road singing as they go. These village songs are obviously very much alive. Why should you bother to write them down ? Why not leave them as they are ?'

The answer to this will perhaps be plain if I make a digression for the moment and describe what has happened in England.

1 Originals of the Uraon poems at numbers 323, 657, 662, 2240, 2142, 2440, 315, 467, 309 and 310 *Lil Khora Khekhel*.

In the seventeenth century, in the century at the beginning of which Shakespeare was finishing his plays, there were two cultures in England—the culture of the towns and the culture of the villages. In the towns, books were circulating, dramas were being written and performed, and a small poet class who wrote poetry and had their poems printed was growing up. In the villages, on the other hand, books were rare, very few persons were literate but in place of the literate and cultured individuals whom the towns were producing, there was a thriving community culture. Each village had a stock of traditional songs and dances. It danced at the New Year, on May Day, on Midsummer Night, at weddings and at harvest time. It sang songs as it danced and it sang songs in the long winter evenings and told riddles. In these songs, dances and riddles, there were the fundamentals of English culture—the expression of a vital and alert sensibility.

At the present time in England, all this has changed. In a very few villages, singing and dancing go on in the old traditional way but these are merely relics and the culture as a whole is dead. In the greater part of England, there is no longer any village dancing. All that remain are a few books in which a few of the songs have been printed. The great majority of the songs were never recorded and the poetry of the villages died without a trace.

If we ask why this village culture decayed, we shall find an answer in a combination of three factors. In the first place, the absence of roads

gave the English village an isolation and this isolation forced it back on its own resources for amusement and entertainment. As the isolation vanished, new and competing forms of amusement came in and the old went down before the new. Secondly, the absence of literacy meant that all entertainment must be oral. The village had either to invent its own songs or remember the songs which its ancestors had sung. But as books and schools came into the villages, there was no longer the same urge to remember or the same need to invent. Finally, increasing literacy brought with it a new set of values. The village had formerly been content to be a village but books brought in with them a new world. It was no longer obvious that the way of life created by your ancestors was good and when you saw no value in the way of life, you saw no value in the songs and dances. If we have to single out the factor which caused the decline of English village culture, we should have to say it was literacy.

Now the bearing of this on the present situation in Chota Nagpur will be plain. In Chota Nagpur there is still a thriving community culture in the villages. There are still great reserves of village poetry. Uraon and Munda girls still go singing down the roads. But the cancer has started. Any one who knows the villages knows that even though the younger boys and girls still sing and dance, they do not know as many songs and dances as their parents did. Any one who knows the villages also knows that once a boy has

gone to a High School he forgets how to dance. Even if he only goes to a middle School, he forgets many of the songs. And as literacy spreads and more and more Uraons, Mundas, Kharias and Hos learn to read and write, we must expect their tribal memories to weaken even further. Unless, therefore, we take early steps to record and print what poetry there is, we may well face a situation in twenty years when there will be very little poetry left.

But it may be objected. 'It is no use recording and printing the songs unless you are sure they are going to be read. If what you say is true and all the songs are dying out, do you think a book is going to save them?'

To this there are several answers and the first might run as follows: Admit for the sake of argument that the songs are dying out and nothing can save them, that in the future although there may still be Uraon villages, the Uraons will no longer sing, that the village is moving into the modern world and literacy has come for good. Admit all this and there would still be a place for a printed collection of songs. As an oral culture dies out, its place is taken by a written one. Written poems take the place of songs. But though they may take their place, they cannot do without them. Already there is a good deal of Munda poetry being written but it is growing out of the traditional songs. A Munda poet writing to-day cannot avoid the tribal reservoir of images, metaphors and rhythms and we have only to read the poems of W. H. Auden to see how a modern English poet can be vitally influenced

by the remains of English village poetry. Putting it at its very least, then, if we print the tribal poems, we are providing future Uraon and Munda poets with a reserve of their own poetry—the basis for a future tribal literature. A hundred years hence, an educated Uraon and Munda may read them with the excitement with which an educated Englishman reads the English ballads.

If this were all, however, it might be said 'Very well, we grant you a Mundari literature is being founded, but for the tribe as a whole, does this matter? In England only a tiny minority reads poetry. Is there any chance that the printed songs will be widely and generally read?'

It is here that mass literacy is relevant and this will form the stepping stone to my last section.

III

When I said, earlier on, that literacy was the main factor in destroying village culture in England and that we must expect it to do the same in Chota Nagpur, I was emphasising the way in which the situation in Chota Nagpur was like the situation in England. But I did not state the important ways in which it differed, and to this I shall now turn.

In England, the process which spread literacy and destroyed the village culture was largely unconscious. There was no conscious control of village reading. There was little realisation that village poetry was valuable. There was little knowledge of history. There were few theories of education in

England. We destroyed our village culture almost without knowing it, and certainly without knowing what we were doing.

In Chota Nagpur, all this is different. Instead of standing at the end of a period of literacy we are standing at the beginning. We are still in a position to decide the first books that shall go into the tribal villages. We are still in a position to give the tribes tribal books. We can still ensure that even though a knowledge of Hindi comes later, a knowledge of Uraon and Mundari remains. We can still ensure that even though Hindi books will have the force of novelty, books embodying the village culture will have the same value and prestige. In short we can recognise literacy as an enemy but we can also use it as an ally.

The ways in which we can do this are as follows :—

Firstly, in our mass literacy centres we can solve the problem of readers by using small song books and riddle books. These are already being used in Uraon and Munda mass literacy centres and more are in process of preparation. From the view point of mass literacy, these readers have many uses. They make the learning of the devanagari alphabet as easy as possible by interposing no alien words between the alphabet and the learner. They provide reading matter which is partly familiar and partly novel and which is in any case felt to be a part of the village. So that the familiar songs and riddles help to naturalise the process of reading, to make it seem as natural and as obvious as a song or

a dance ; while the new songs and riddles provide a reason, for reading—they extend the stock of amusement in the village. For who wants to read merely in order to be given advice about his crops and animals—advice which he knows he will never take ? But who would not want to read when it extends his supply of jokes ? These are real advantages from the view point of mass literacy but from the view point of preserving village poetry, there are other advantages also. These small books of songs and riddles foster the tribal pride in its own inventions. They demonstrate that Uraon and Munda culture is important. They show that Uraon and Mundari are as proper material for printing as Hindi or English. They show that there is nothing to be ashamed of in songs and singing. And finally in a small way they help to preserve the songs.

But there is a second way in which mass literacy is proving an ally. An important part of the movement in Chota Nagpur has been the formation of village libraries. In these libraries, somewhat larger books are provided so that as the villagers learn to read and go beyond the stage of primers and readers, more material is at hand for them to read. Among the books which have already been put in village libraries in the Uraon country is a big collection of Uraon songs. This action has had and will have many important effects. It has revived Uraon confidence in Uraon culture. It has provided the villages with a reference book of songs. It has ensured that the songs need not die

out. At the very beginning of literacy it has shown that tribal poetry is a normal and natural thing to read.

Finally there is a third line of action which the mass literacy movement is not at present taking but which it is to be hoped it will subsequently take. This is to combine the spread of literacy with an exposition of its objects. Side by side with providing the villages with books embodying their own culture, we can explain that mass literacy is only a means to an end—to fit a man for more efficient and alert living ; that poetry and dancing are as much a part of living as literacy and that the very purpose of mass literacy will be defeated if dancing and singing die out. If we emphasise this in our centres, if we make our centres not merely mass literacy centres but centres of tribal culture, there will still remain a hope for poetry and a hope for Chota Nagpur.

If, however, this is not done, we must expect a new generation, able, it is true, to read the newspaper and able, it is true, to give a vote. But the black goat will have ceased to graze on the black hill. The turtle rani will no longer go with the otter raja. The cobra will have ceased to ask for alms. The heron will have ceased to twirl his moustache.

NEOPLATONISTS AND INDIAN PHILOSOPHERS

By A. BANERJI-SASTRI

The chief doctrine of Porphyrios, intimately connected with the Indian, is, that by a holy life and the contemplation of God, the highest object of philosophy, the communion with God is attained. It is true, all schools of Indian philosophy agree in general with this doctrine, but that of the *Vedānta* is nearest to that of Porphyrios. To a man who has by devotion and piety taken cognizance of All, the *Brahma* or the divine discloses itself¹. In the closest connection with the high value placed by Porphyrios on the possession of the highest cognition, his injunction stands, not to communicate the doctrine to the uninitiated, nor to speak of it in public assemblies. Already in the oldest writings of the Indians we find in agreement herewith the injunction propounded, that the divine science is to be communicated only to duly gifted disciples and to the initiated².

¹ The *Muṇḍaka-Upanishad* I, c. g. in Roer's edition, p. 271.

² The aphorisms of the *Vedānta* Philosophy by Bādarāyaṇa, *Mirzapore* 1851 p. 1 and p. 2. Bādarāyaṇa composed his *Sutra* only after he had found an entirely suitable disciple. The injunction has passed over also into the later text-book of the *Vedānta*-school, *Vedānta-Sāra, Elements of Philosophy according to the Vedas*, by Sadānanda Parivrāja-kāchārya p. 4. In the *Kaṭha-Upanishad* II, 16 in Roer's Edition p. 120 it is said. Whatever sage hears and communicates this most excellent narrative of *Naciketas* spoken of *Mṛityu* the death, he is glorified in the world of *Brahma* he

The other doctrine of Porphyrios which deserves here to be adduced is that external divine service can claim but a very subordinate value. In this point all the Indian philosophical schools agree, with only a single exception, because the *Mīmāṃsā* school by reason of its direction conceives cognition and the practice of religious duties as the highest principle; the other philosophical schools on the contrary consider the true knowledge of their dogmas as the highest object of human efforts, from which principle their adherents have of course in several instances deviated.

If in the writings of Porphyrios yet a truly philosophical sense manifests itself, this cannot be vaunted by his next successors. Among them superstition continually gains a stronger footing and philosophical efforts are beclouded by mysticism and by theocracy. Their writings deserve notice in this place only in so far as Indian influences can yet be perceived in them. First a passage erroneously attributed to *Tamblichos* the most celebrated disciple of Porphyrios falls under consideration, which treats of the mysteries of the Egyptians, and

who promulgates this most excellent mystery with pure intention in the Brahman assembly or at the time of the sacrifice of the manes, he is fit for the infinite. Herefrom it follows that it was not permitted to communicate this narrative in the assemblies in which other castes participated, that it was necessary to utter it with a pure mind, and that for such communications the highest rewards were promised. Of other passages of this kind it will suffice to adduce one in this place, namely that in the *Mānavadharma Śāstra* XII, 117, where it is said. "Thus the Holy, the divine (*Manu*) has from love to the worlds promulgated this most excellent mystery of the laws" *Kulluka Bhaṭṭa* remarks justly, that the sense is "The law is not to be communicated to uninitiated persons."

according to the statement of manuscripts wherein it is contained, is probably derived from the teacher *Abammon*, who endeavours in it to refute the doubts on the correctness of the dominating views about the gods and the demons propounded by Prophyrios in his letter addressed to the Egyptian *Anebon*¹. Their author was at all events a contemporary of Tamblichos and lived therefore about 300 after Christ.

The chief points of the doctrine of this Neoplatonist are the following². To men it is given to unite themselves in a mystic manner with all higher beings, the existence whereof therefore needs no other argument, because man may by this direct union with them convince himself of it. The Gods are contained not only in heaven but are omnipresent and instruct the theories on their nature and on the correct manner of worshipping them. From this superior communication which *Hermes* is said to have communicated to the priests and these to the Greek sages, the mysteries of divine worship and its mystic signification are derived. The union with the divine is also founded on the circumstance that the soul separated from the body does not suffer. Also when it descends into a body it does not suffer, nor in the thoughts, which are ideas. In

1. This writing was edited by Thomas Gale under the following title: *Iamblichi Chalcedensis ex Cocle-Syria de Mysteris Libor Promittetur Epistola Porphyrii ad Anebonum Aegyptium Codem argumento*, Oxonis M. D C L. XXVIII. The supposition of Guel that this writing was composed by *Tamblichos*, was refuted by Meiness in a treatise on it in the *Comment. Soc. Reg. Gutting. cl. phil.* IV. p. 59 foll.

2. H. Ritter l. q. w. p. 630 foll.

them we are intimately connected with the gods, and no human thoughts disturb our close communication with the divine. In this highest degree all differences disappear. The man filled with holy enthusiasm lives no more an animal nor human life, and becomes insensible to fire and wind as well as to wounds of every kind ; fire and water can place no impediments in his way. On the manner in which Abammon seeks to justify the external service of the gods against the objections of Porphyrios I need not enter in this place, because therein he has the Greek worship of the gods before his eyes, and was probably not acquainted with the arguments by which the Brahmans justify their sacred customs. Therefore I point out only two more doctrines of Abammon. The first is that he does not with Plotinos assume that the One caused the world forming intellect to emanate from itself, but asserts, that the first God and King caused himself to ex-radiate from the One. The second doctrine is that in the material everywhere also immaterial is present in an immaterial manner, wherefore a pure and divine matter ought to have existed, of which gods made use to form an appropriate habitation for themselves.

If I assume, that Abammon had also known and partly accepted Indian doctrines, I appeal in the next place to the coincidences, which he manifests in some of his views with the Indian ones. As a secondary argument it may be said that he did not on all points acknowledge the pre-eminence of the Egyptians in the faithful tradition of the old doctrine, but in some points acknowledged that of

the Chaldeans¹. The supposition that he esteemed also Indian doctrines, thereby gains support.

The resemblances between the views of Abammon and the Indian ones manifest themselves in four points. First that the first God and King has *exradiated* himself from the One. This expression gives us the right to compare the first God of this Neoplatonist with the *Virāj* the *ex radiator* of the Indian cosmogony. The oldest mention of this word which has hitherto appeared is contained in a passage of the *Atharvaveda* where it is said of him, that the *Vrāj*, or such a one, who has indeed been born in one of the three pure castes of the *dvija*, but has by neglecting to be incorporated into his caste forfeited it, turned so all four quarters of the world, and after him *Virāj* led all the gods and deities. Then *Virāj* proceeded towards the four quarters of the world; was followed by *Prajāpati* the lord of the creatures and by *Parameshthī* who stands the highest². From this passage it is clear that *Virāj*, i. e., the *Eradiator* occupies a higher degree than the lord of the creatures, than *Parameshthī* by which name *Brahmā* is designated, and than the other deities. In the *Upanisad*, *Prajāpati* is explained by *Virāj* the lord of the three worlds³. Herefrom it appears that

1. Cf. I, 2, VI, 7 and IX, 4.

2. The XV book of the *Atharvaveda* by Th. Aufrecht in A. Weber's *Ind. Stud.* I. p. 124 foll. This book of the youngest of the four *Vedas* was afterwards reprinted in the *Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā* Edited by R. Roth and W. D. Whitney I, 314 foll. On the expression *Vrātja* s. above I. p. 820.

3. Cf. VIII 8; s. A. Weber's *Analysis of the Upanishad* contained in Anquetil Dupéron's translation in *Ind. Stud.* II. p. 226 when the explanation of *Sanātanācārya* has been communicated.

at least the later exponents of the Vedic writings make him equal to the creator of the world. The same representation of the creation of the universe as an eradiation occurs again in the oldest code of law in two passages ¹. In the first it is said that *Svayambhū*, the self-existing, intending to create the worlds *radiated out* from the original all enveloping darkness, in the second it is said, that the creator of the word divided his own body in Twain ; of one moiety a male spirit was produced and the other became a woman, whilst the highest lord caused the *Virāj* to originate ; thereon *Virāj* created *Manu*, the ancestor of men and the mythic King of the Indians. It need scarcely be pointed out expressly that this Indian creation of the world presents a striking resemblance to that of the Neoplatonist Abammon, which is not at all invalidated by the circumstance, that Abammon makes of *Virāj* and of *Manu* only one person.

This second resemblance between his and the Indian views occurs in the idea of Abammon concerning matter. Whilst Plotinos and especially Porphyrios shortly distinguish the immaterial from the material, Abammon almost totally destroys the idea of matter by assuming that there exists in divine matter, that the immaterial is everywhere present in the material in an immaterial manner and that the gods had produced matter as an appropriate habitation for themselves. With this idea of matter we again meet in the Indian *Vedānta* school. According to it *Brahma* the almighty God is the omniscient, all creating, and at the same time

¹ *Mān. dh.* c. I. 6. foll and 32 foll.

material cause of the world¹. Herefrom it follows that matter is divine, and that a portion of the divine matter is contained in all things. As according to the opinion of the Indians, their Gods have supra-sensuous bodies, this also agrees with the statement of Abammon, only the Indian Gods do not themselves create their habitations but that is done by the highest God. The mystic union with the highest God is the third agreement with the Neoplatonist of whose views we are now speaking, with the Indian ones, and we meet with it in the dogms of *Bāḍarāyaṇa*². According to them the individual souls unite in deep sleep with the highest infinite spirit, and in the state of the deepest contemplation all differences vanish, as Abammon himself taught, the fourth and last resemblance between his views and those of the Indian philosophers is, that according to him the man filled with holy enthusiasm obtain miraculous forces; according to *Patāñjali* the man who knows how to elevate himself to the contemplation of God, in the manner prescribed by him, likewise attains supernatural forces, as has been shown already before³.

As the present question is satisfactorily solved by showing that in the two chief Neoplatonists *Plotinos* and *Porphyrios* the influences of Indian doctrines may be plainly distinguished, and that such have afterwards manifested themselves also

¹ *The Aphorisms of the Vedāntu-Philosophy etc.* p. 74 and *The Vedānta Sāra etc.* p. 7. The creating cause is *nimitta*, the material one is called *upādāna*.

² *Vedānta-Sāra* p. 6 and p. 27.

³ S. above p. 417.

in the later *Abammon*, I consider it superfluous, to review the doctrines of the later Neoplatonists in order to find in them Indian influences. I can do this the more easily as the directions taken by the later Neoplatonists were prescribed to them by the religious and political state of those times, and as their deviations from the views of their predecessors may be considered as natural developments and thus transformations of the doctrines of the older Neoplatonists on whom foreign influences had not been operating. The only Neoplatonist of whom an independent acquaintance with Indian philosophical doctrines and a use of them might be suspected, is *Damaskios*, who flourished in the beginning of the 6th century, and who, as several passages of his treatise show, had made himself acquainted with the religious views of the Magi, the Babylonians, the Phoenicians and Egyptians¹. Therefore he might be supposed to have been familiar with the religious and philosophical opinions of the Indians. This supposition is however not confirmed by the consideration of chief tenets. When he asserts for instance that the original cause of all things is the inexpressible because it could be called neither the cause, nor the good, nor the beginning, nor the object², therefore it would be hazardous to perceive in this designation of the first principle a resemblance to the name of the creative nature *avyakta i. e.*, undeveloped in the *Sāṅkhya*-philosophy, especially

¹ *Questions on first principle 1*, by *Damaskius the Platonist philosopher*. First edited fr. MS. by Joseph Kopp. Frankfort on the Main 1806 where in p. V of the preface the time of *Damaskius* is discussed.

² s. II, VI, VII, XLI, LXXV, CXVIII and CLXVII,

as *Plotinos* had designated the first by that word, only because no name suited it, better although not one quite satisfied the object¹. An imitation of the Indian idiom might sooner be suspected in the expression of Damaskios, that the inexpressible is to be named unrecognizeable, because everything which exceeds cognition, is more worth mentioning than the recognizeable, and as only the one is the last recognizeable, that which exceeds the one is not to be mentioned at all². Herewith the designation of the original cause of things might be compared through the expressions: "unrecognised", "possessing no knowledge" and "undistinguishable"³; this however is an isolated agreement of Damaskios with Indian ideas, and his other principles, that the end of all human speech is a hopeless silence, and that men know nothing at all of the inexpressible differ so much from all Indian doctrines, that herefrom already it would follow that Damaskios had taken no regard at all of Indian philosophy.

If we now have a retrospect of the results of the preceding explanations, we have found such unmistakeable agreements between Indian religious and philosophical doctrines on the one side, and those of the Gnostics, Manichaeans and Neoplatonists on the other that a mutual communication cannot be denied. That it has in this case proceeded from the Indians appears from the following three

¹ On *avyakta* v. above p. 421, and on this expression of *Plotinos* s. p. 418.

² l. q, w. VI.

³ *Mân, dh.* c I, 5

reasons. Firstly, the demonstrably higher age of these doctrines among the Indians; secondly the dislike of the latter to give admittance to foreign doctrines among themselves; thirdly the circumstance that Indian doctrines, Brahmanic as well as Buddhist ones, have spread to the western nations before the time than the Gnostic and Manichæan systems, and Neoplatonist philosophy originated.¹ These communications of Indian doctrines to the western nations were occasioned and promoted by three circumstances. First, by the lively commercial intercourse between the Indians and the Roman Empire; secondly by the propagation of the religions of *S'âkyamuni* from India across Bactria to Babylon²; thirdly by the endeavours of the Alexandrian scholars to become acquainted with the history, the religion and the antiquity of the eastern nation³. It is true, there exists no express testimony that there were works treating on the religion and on the philosophical systems of the Indians; there can however scarcely be a doubt that such was sometimes the case. In favour of this statement it may be asserted, that an individual deeply acquainted with the Eranian languages and with the Zoroastrian religion, namely the peripatetic *Hermippus* who lived in the third century before Christ had given the number of the verses ascribed to *Zoroaster*, had noted down the titles of the separate books and had treated also with the religion

1 S. above p.369 and p. 407.

2 S. above p. 407.

3 S. hereon the references in M. Mutter's *Histoires de l'école d'Alexandrie* II, p. 368 foll.

of the Egyptians¹. But as the Zoroastrian was a neighbour of the Indian religion it may be supposed that Hermippos treated in his look also of the latter; of another Greek author, of *Alexendros Polyhistor* it has been shown before, that about the year 80 before Christ he communicated information about the Brahmins². If we further consider that after these two authors, several others have treated on this subject, the Gnostics and Neoplatonists could not have been in want of materials to acquire a suitable acquaintance with the doctrines of the Indians.

I cannot terminate this section, without throwing out the supsicion, that an acquaintance with the ascetic life of the Brahmanic hermits and the monastic life of Buddhist monks had exerted some influence on the origin of monachism among the

¹ *Plinius H. N. XXX, Hermippus, who has most diligently written on that whole art, and has explored twenty times one hundred thousand verses writt by Zoroaster and has registered also the indexes of the volumens.* From the fragment of *Hermippus* 81 in the C of *Mucller's Fragm Hist. Grec.* III, p. 54 it appears that he had treated also of the festivals of the Egyptians. The title were no doubt those of the *Nosk* or more correctly *Naaska*, of which there existed originally twenty-one; cf. I. A. Vuller's *Fragments on the religion of Zoroaster* where the titles of the separate books are adduced. The number of the verses attributed to *Zoroaster* is confirmed by the Arab author *Abu-Gafir-Muhammad-Ben- Gerir Attavari* according to whose testimony the Zoroastrian writings were written on twelve thousand cow-hides; s. *Hyde Dereligione vretorum Persarum* p. 318. The number twelve thousand is to be explained from the contest between *Ormuzd* and *Ahriman* having lasted as many years. These were probably twelve thousand volumes written on parchment prepared from cow-hides, each of which contained ten thousand verses or rather lines.

² S. above p. 355.

Christians. Formerly Christian ascetics had lived among their co-religionists without distinction and scattered, until the time of the emperor Decius (249 -251 after Chr.) who persecuted Christians, and therefore several Egyptian Christians retired to the wilderness in order to devote themselves to very strict asceticism. This new ascetic direction only afterwards called forth great attention, when, during the persecution of the Christians under *Maximian* in the year 311, *Antonius*, who dwelt on a rock in the adjacent desert made his appearance at Alexandria in a solemn procession¹. As is customary in such cases, this persecution produced enthusiasm and fanaticism among the ascetics, and effected that Antonius obtained many imitators. He is considered the father of monachism, which originated in the east and chiefly in Egypt. But as in that country Alexandria was a central point of commerce with India and of the Greek knowledge of India, as further Indian hermit-life had already since the campaign of Alexander become well known especially through *Megasthenes*, and as already *Burdesanes* had described the origin of monachism and monastic life of the Buddhists as has been shown before², the opinion can scarcely be rejected, that an acquaintance with this phenomenon in India had naturally contributed to promote hermit-life in Egypt, and to develop and to organize monastic life. A further influence of Buddhism cannot be mistaken in the

¹ I. f. q. Grieseler's *Handbook of Ecclesiastic History* I. p. 407 and II p. 26.

² S. above p. 367 foll.

tonsure customary among Christian priests as well as in the use of bells, which is much older among the Buddhists than among Christians, and in the use of rosaries, as it is certain that the Indians used in their prayers chaplets called *akṣamāla**.*

* Translated with notes from Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*.

† S. above p. 23.

Miscellaneous Articles

MIR JUMLA-IRAN CORRESPONDENCE

By JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

I. Khalifa-i-Sultan, Itimad-ud-dowla, succeeded Mirza Muhammad Taqi (murdered 30th September, 1645) as Wazir of Iran on October 5, 1645. He was a Sayyid of Ispahan, in the *mahalla* of Gulbār. As he belonged to a very respectable family, Shah Abbas I married his daughter to him and appointed him Wazir (C. 1622), in which capacity he served for 5 years¹. After the death of Shah Abbas I, during the reign of his grandson Shah Safi² also, he continued to serve as Wazir for four years³ *i. e.*, till 1631 ; but he was dismissed when Shah Safi had the innocent sons of Khalifa-i-Sultan (by Shah Abbas's daughter) blinded⁴.

¹ FEF. 1642-45, 296. For his life, see Waris (O. P. L.) 94 b.

² Shah Safi ascended the throne in 1627/1627. He was a capricious tyrant. All the royal princes, almost every minister or general were either put to death or deprived of their eyes, probably as a matter of policy. The daughter of Shah Abbas, who had married Isak Khan was among these victims. Malcolm I, 570-76.

³ Cf. The report of the English factors, William Pitt and Thomas Codrington at Ispahan to the President and Council at Surat (Oct. 6, 1645) that Khalifa-i-Sultan "had the office once before and that ten years together" in the reign of Shah Abbas, "the grandfather of this King". FEF. 1642-45, 296.

⁴ Shah Safi trusted all public affairs to his ministers. Malcolm I, 577.

When Shah Abbas II became King,¹ Khalifa-i-Sultan went to Mecca², and after his return, lived in Ispahan. Then, owing to the murder of Taqi³ and consequent troubles regarding the wizarat, and absence of any better or more capable person than Khalifa-i-Sultan, Shah Abbas II reappointed him Wazir and he now served for 9 years till his death in 1654. He was distinguished for his superior excellence, and for his pilgrimage and honoured for his age. But he is reported to have drunk wine⁴ at the orders of the Shah and he could not atone for this before his death, which took place some time before April 10, 1654⁵. Emperor Shah Jahan learnt of his death on 26th December, 1654. His sister's son Mir Jafar Ispahani, started from Ispahan to see Shah Jahan and on reaching Surat, he was given Rs. 6,000 from the local treasury. He interviewed the Emperor and was

1 Shah Abbas II, a minor, became King in 1051/1641 or 1642 and ruled till 1077/1666. He was entirely in the hands of his ministers, who were 'very religious and austere', who tried to reform the court and even the people by passing orders for prohibition of wine and removal of drunkard officers. Malcolm I, Khalifa-i-Sultan issued proclamation against wine and female dancers. *Ibid* 578-9.

2 During his pilgrimage, made along with the Persians he suffered injuries at the hands of the Turks at Bagdad (Swally Marine factors to the Co., Jan. 25, 1647). FEF. 1646-50, 86.

3 See Note B.

4 For Shah Abbas II's orgies see Malcolm I, 578-9; 582-3.

5 FEF. 1651-54. 270-272. He was succeeded by the 'Steward'. *Ibid*.

given a khilat, the rank of 1500 zat and 500 suwar and Rs. 10,000¹.

The English factors in Persia had a high opinion of Khalifa-i-Sultan and considered his appointment to be favourable to the E. I. C's interests. They observed: "He is reported to be a very honest man and a friend unto our action ; so that we hope our Honourable employers's business in these parts will in future prove better than formerly it hath been"². They expected to visit him on his appointment and remind him of the farmans promised by his predecessor³. But though Khalifa-i-Sultan promised Pitt, the English factor at Ispahan, to show favour to the English, he was "an inveterate enemy to all Christians" and tried his best to convert the Armenians of Ispahan into Islam⁴. In their letter to the Company, the Swally Marine factors referred (Oct. 24, 1650) to the growing complaints of the factors in Persia and observed that as the Company would not permit the use of force, which was the only effective remedy, they had instructed the factors to be "on good terms with the officials and to be very diligent in their attendance at the custom house", and that presents should be given to the King, on his return to Ispahan (August), and the

1 Waaris 94 b.

2 FEF. 1642-45. *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.* His Secretary was Ismail Beg. For Khalifa-i-Sultan's relations with the English and the Dutch see FEF. 1646-50. 1651-54, pp. 54-5, 58, 62-3, 66-69, 117, 124-5, 127, 131, 135, 149, 180, 184, 204, 225-6, 270, 287, 289, 295-6.

4 FEF. 1646-50. 42, 43, 267.

minister¹, the cost of which would be partly recouped by the profits of trade².

II. Mirza Muhammad Taqi, referred to in English factory records simply as Mirza Taqi, was the first minister. *i. e.* Wazir (Itimat-ud-dowla) of Shah Abbas II of Persia³. He alienated the indigenous people and the foreigners by his unsympathetic attitude and oppressive government. He had formed a plan to execute some persons⁴ but he was himself murdered by them on October 1, 1645. According to the English factors at Ispahan, William Pitt and Thomas Codrington⁵, who were present at the court one day before the incident and whose evidence may be trusted as that of eye witnesses, the Itimad-ud-dowla was killed at dawn of October 1, 1645, while he was at prayer in his own house by Jonne Chaune (Jani Khan) and five persons. The unpopularity of the wazir was shown by the remark of the English factors that his execution caused "joy to all in general here,"

¹ *Ibid* 324.

² Surat Letter to the Co. (Nov. 19, 1650). *Ibid* 329.

³ FEF. 1642-45, 337 : Malcolm I, 577 n.

⁴ According to a letter from Gombroon. May 7, 1646 : FEF *Ibid* 297-98, 1646-50, 43.

⁵ Letter to Surat (Oct. 6, 1645). The names of the rest are Curchee Bashee (the Qurchi Bashi, or commander of the Tartar cavalry), Nocoda Chawne (Naqdi ? Khan) (or Nakhuda Khan), Arab Chawne (Arab Khan), Abbas Culle Beague (Abbas Quli Beg), Byram Alle Beague Shechavand (Bairam Ali Beg Shaikhavand), Jebadar Basshe (the Jiliander Basshee *Ibid*, 1642-45, 297 & n.)

and this is corroborated by Mir Jumla's remarks about the nature of his administration¹. The Queen mother was a friend of the murdered wazir and pressed upon the Shah to punish the murderers². Again, as the murder was committed without the Shah's order, the Shah, in revenge, put the offenders to death (October 6) in the maidan or the central square to the east of royal palace, as a lesson to others³.

3. A LETTER OF SHAH ABBAS II TO MIR JUMLA

Know ye, Mir Jumla, who illumines the steps of the house of the sincerity of mind with the rays of the sun of the kindness of the Padshah, and irrigates the garden of unity and service with the waters of the ocean of the kindness of the Padshah and eats its fruits.⁴

1 *Ibid.*, 298n. "And yet it is credibly reported that the King, if he did not comaund it to bee done, yett was very glad that he was soe ridd of Eitam (en) Dowlett; and indeed soe were all his people in general, many of them for five daies together maeking feasts for joy they were soe well ridd of such a divell. Since his death it is reported that hee conspired the death of the King and intended to settle his younger brother in his throne. It is likewise credibly reported that there came into the Kings tresaure by the death of the aforesaid six men about 500,000 Temaunds". *Ibid.*, 296, 297n. This would show that the system of escheat prevailed in Persia.

2 According to Valentyn in *Ibid.* Malcolm I, 577n.

3 EEF. 1642-5, 297 & notes. For Taqi's relations with the English see FEF. 1642-45, pp. 169-171, 256.7, 268, 277-78, 282, 296.

4 A reference to some services done by Mir Jumla for the ruler of Iran is given in the letters to Khalifa-i-Sultan (from Tabrezi's Golkonda Letters) *vide* my article on Mir Jumla-Iran correspondence in J. B. O. R. S. June 1942.

That your letter, containing professions of sincerity, which is a cause of service and unity, and by sending which you have, at such a time, placed yourself among the group of the officers of my *darbar*, has reached the Padshah. The sincere services¹, which you have accomplished, have become manifest to me. Every matter, which you have urged before the Padshah, has been seen by him. You, who wear the cloak of sincerity, will be helped by the limitless favours of the Padshah at the right moment².

As the sincerity and purity of the Qutb Shahi house with our family and the identity of the religious between us are known to all, and do not require elucidation, it is the wish of the Padshah that this unity be revived and broadcast. The task of strengthening this friendship was entrusted to Mirza Muhammad Muqim, librarian, and up till now, the writing of this *farman*, he has not informed me anything of this matter. When you are fit to be entrusted with the performance of this task from my side, you should, together with Mirza Muhammad Muqim, dilate on this matter, before

- 1 *From Ruqaat-i-Shah Abbas Sani* (Sarkar Ms.). 154, 156. This letter is reply to Mir Jumla's letter, in which Mir Jumla threatened with destruction by Abdullah Qutb Shah, agreed to join Persian royal service. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb* I.
- 2 Shah Abbas II's offer of help to Mir Jumla seems to be neutralised in the following lines.

the Sultan of Golkonda¹. If a *Sudurnama* is issued for the appointment of an ambassador from the Golkonda side to accomplish this friendship, then inform me. Then I would instruct my officers accordingly. Rest assured of my favours and let services, greater than before, be performed by you ; and inform me of your desires and objects so that they may be ornamented with acceptance and accomplishment.

- 1 Shah Abbas II probably wants to keep his sympathy for and promise of help to Mir Jumla concealed. His position was something like an arbiter. From some other letters given in *Ruqaat-i-Shah Abas Sanir*, we know that in compliance with the appeals for help from Bijapur and Golkonda, Shah Abbas agreed to help them and endeavoured to incite them against the Mughals, and deputed Mirza Muhammad Muqim with the object of knowing the affairs of Hindustan and the Deccan. Again, he had also promised to help Murad in his bid for the throne. All this was during the War of Successor (c. 1657) among the sons of Shah Jahan. Mir Jumla must have appealed to Shah Abbas (c. 1654-55) for securing a haven of safety against the tempestuous wrath of Abdullah Qutb Shah. But Shah Abbas's reply, came rather late (*i. e.* after about 2 years) Moreover he could not profess outward sympathy for Mir Jumla, without jeopardising his friendship and community of religion with and political suzerainty over Golkonda. Hence Mir Jumla was entrusted with the task of advocating on behalf of the Shah the necessity of strengthening the bond of friendship between Golkonda and Iran.*

KHALJI KINGS', THEIR COINAGE AND MINTS

By S. A. SHERE

A hoard of twelve silver coins was unearthed in a mango grove of village Shahpur, Police Station Shahpur in the Sadar Sub-Division of the district of Shahabad in the Province of Bihar. The treasure was found by the owner of the mango grove on the 15th October 1940 and was subsequently forwarded to the Patna Museum for examination and report to Government by the Collector of Shahabad on the 5th October, 1942. The President of the Coin Committee, Mr. P. C. Manuk after considering the report of the writer on its numismatic value, requested Government to acquire the coins under the Treasure Trove Act. A case was therefore started but no person came forward to claim them. Government were thereupon pleased to accord their sanction to the acquisition of the entire hoard.

The twelve silver coins appertain to the reigns of the founder of the Khalji Dynasty Jalalu-D-Din Firuz and his nephew and son-in-law Alau-D-Din Muhammad Shah who eventually usurped the throne and the coins date between A. H. 694 and 715. My reading of the coins with their description and weight is as follows :—

- 1 They were a Turkish tribe. Sir Wolseley Haig says, "the late Major Raverty, an authority from whom it is seldom safe to differ, protested vigorously against the common error of classing the Khaljis as Afghans or Pathans, but the people of Delhi certainly fell into the error which he condemns".—see Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 91. The Khalji Dynasty ruled from A.D. 1290 to 1320 when they were supplanted by the Tughluq Dynasty.

JALALU-D-DIN FIRUZ.

No.	Mint.	Date A. H.	Weight in grains.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1.	Delhi	694	167.03047	الامام امير المستعصم المومنين	السلطان الاعظم جلال الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر فيروز شاه السلطان

No margin.

Margin

ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرت دهلى
فى سنة اربع وتسعين وستمائة

167.29591

165.90699

"

"

ALAU-D-DIN MUHAMMAD SHAH.

No.	Mint.	Date A. H.	Weight in grains.	Obverse.	Reverse.
2.	"	"	"	السلطان الاعظم	سكندر الثاني
3.	"	"	"	علا الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر محمد شاه السلطان	امير المومنين في سنة الخلافة ناصر
4.	Darul Islam	707	165.78662	Margin partly cut.	Margin partly cut.

No margin.

*** بدار الاسلام
فى سنة سبع و سبعمائة

311	5.	Delhi	711	169-01198	No magin	As on 4. Margin partly cut. في سنة احدى عشر بعمالية بحضرت دهلي
313	6.	Delhi	714(?)	167-94098	"	As on 4. Margin partly cut. بحضرت دهلي
314	7.	Darul Islam (?)	715(?)	169-15705	"	As on 4. Margin partly cut. في سنة اربع عشر بعمالية (?) بحضرت دهلي
	8.	Delhi (?)	715	167-97184	"	As on 4. Margin partly cut. في سنة خمس عشر بعمالية (?) بحضرت دهلي
	9.	..	..	165-19710	"	As on 4. Margin partly cut. في سنة خمس عشر بعمالية
	10.	Delhi	..	167-70950	"	As on 4. Margin partly cut.
	11.	..	..	167-07060	"	As on 4. Margin cut.
	12.	..	..	166-77739	"	"

Three coins¹ (serials 1-- 3) of Jalau-D-Din Firuz in the hoard of twelve are all dated A. H. 694 and all struck at the mint Hazrat Delhi. The coins are circular in shape with the name and titles of the monarch stamped out in a high relief within a double lined square on the reverse, while on the obverse we get the epithet shewing the spiritual allegiance to the Caliphate within a similar square. The circular edge on the obverse is utilised to give the name of the mint and the year of coinage. The Sultan Jalalu-D-Din was enthroned on the 13th June 1290 A.D. (=689 A.H.)² and during his reign he issued gold, silver, billon and copper coins. For the Slave King, Sultan Ghiyath-al-din Balban (A.D 1265³-1287) he had great reverence. Soon after his accession the adherents of the House of Balban became rebellious and in spite of the advice given to Jalalu-D-Din to inflict punishment on the rebels, he remarked, "What you all say is right and accords with the rules of Imperial policy. But what can I do ? For seventy years have I lived

1. Cf. The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi by H. Nelson Wright, Pl. IV, 279.
2. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Ranking), Bibl. Ind. Vol. I, p. 230. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 87. Miftahul-Fatuh (Amir Khusrau), E & D, Vol. III, p. 536 has Tuesday the 3rd of Jumadi II, 689 A. H. But Barni (Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi), E & D, Vol. III, p. 136 and Nizamuddin (Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Pers. Text. Vol. I, p. 117) have A.H 688.
3. The Mohammadan Dynasties by S. Lane-Poole, p. 299. But the Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 73 has A.D 1266. Sir Wolseley Haig remarks that, "One authority alone says that he (Balban) fell sick in 1264 and died on March 1, 1265, but the text is not satisfactory".

like a mussalman; and have never shed the blood of a mussalman. Now that I am old and have only a few years to live, I do not wish to imbrue my hand with a moslem's blood, and gain for myself the name of a despot and tyrant. And if we had fallen into their hands, and they had shed our blood, the burden of answering for it, to-morrow, on the day of judgment, would have been on their shoulders and not on ours. I have been for years one of Sultan Balban's servants and the debt of gratitude for his favours is heavy on my shoulders. I have taken possession of his kingdom. It would be the height of baseness and injustice if, in addition, I slew his adherents and dependents"¹. He did not give effect to any innovation in his coinage as his coins appear to have followed in type those of Balban.

Jalalu-Din Firuz was assassinated near Allaha-bad on the 17th Ramazan, A.H. 695 (A.D. 1296)² and his nephew and son-in-law was proclaimed King under the title of Alau-D-Din Muhammad Shah in his camp³ but was formally enthroned at Delhi in the last month of Zilhijja of A.H. 695⁴ (= A.D. 1296). Some of those who were hostile to Alau-D-Din proclaimed the younger son of Jalalu-D-Din Firuz as King under the title of Ruknu-D-Din Ibrahim who was, however, soon captured and disposed of.

¹ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (B.De), *Bibl. Ind.* Vol. 1., pp. 136-137.

² *Ibid.* p. 150.

Barni (*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*), E. & D, Vol. 111., p. 155.

³ *Ibid.* p. 151.

Ibid. p. 155.

⁴ *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Ranking), Vol. 1., p. 246 has 29th of Zilhijja, A.H. 695.

Though the latter's reign was obviously short, nevertheless his silver, billon and copper coins are extant¹. Alau-D-Din Muhammad ruled for over twenty years during which period he issued gold, silver, billon and copper coins.

Nine coins² (serials 4-12) of our hoard date between A.H 707 and 715 and appertain to the reign of Alau-D-Din Muhammad. The design and type of these coins are the same as the three of Jalau-D-Din Firuz referred to above, but in this lot of nine coins there are seven from the mint of Hazrat Delhi and two from the mint of Darul-Islam. Alau-D-Din Muhammad was a man of extravagant ideas and inordinate ambition, as will appear from his own statement: "God Almighty gave the blessed Prophet four friends, through whose energy and power the law and Religion were established and through this establishment of law and Religion the name of the Prophet will endure to the day of judgment. Every man who knows himself to be a mussalman, and calls himself by that name, conceives himself to be of his religion and creed. God has given me also four friends, Ulugh Khan, Yar Khan, Nusrat Khan and Alp Khan, who, through my prosperity, have attained to princely power and dignity. If I am so inclined, I can, with the help of these four friends, establish a new religion and creed; and my sword and the swords

¹ The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi by H. Nelson Wright, pp. 87-88.

² Cf. Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta by H. Nelson Wright, Vol. II. Pl. IV, 209.

of my friends will bring all men to adopt it. Through this religion, my name and that of my friends will remain among men to the last day like the names of the Prophet and his friends"¹. He further says, "I have wealth, and elephants, and forces beyond all calculation. My wish is to place Delhi in charge of a vicegerent and then I will go out myself into the world, like Alexander, in pursuit of conquest, and subdue the whole habitable world"². Nor in his case was this merely bombastic talk, for by his action during the reign of his uncle and father-in-law Jalau-D-Din Firuz he had already succeeded in extending the influence of Delhi over Southern India; and later in his own reign he conducted a campaign against Dvarasamudra and Malabar, which is probably unparallalled in the internal history of India during the middle ages and thereafter, for it is recorded that spoils in the shape of gold alone amounted to 96000 maunds³ which at the present rate of gold would be valued at the astronomic figure of Rs. 19,968,000,000/- Apart from this immense quantity of gold, the spoils included elephants, horses, boxes of jewels and pearls. Elated doubtless by his repeated successes in Southern India, and pursuant to his boast quoted above, he arrogated to himself new titles and established a new creed with a litany

1 *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (B. De), *Bibl. Ind.* Vol. I., p. 160. Barni (*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*), E & D, Vol. III. p 169.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 160.
Ibid., p. 169.

In this respect he resembled his modern prototype Hitler

3 Barni (*Tarikh-roz Shahi*), E & D, Vol. III., p. 204.

which was read in the Khutba. These innovations he soon translated into his coinage, on which appear inscriptions of magniloquent titles of secular and religious significance *viz.*, *سكندر الثاني - يمين الخلافة - ناصر امير المؤمنين* (Alexander the second. The right hand of the Caliphate, the helper of the Commander of the Faithful.) By this heterodox action he may be said to have forestalled the Great Akbar, who also ruled from Delhi over two centuries later.

The twelve silver coins of our hoard appertaining to the reigns of Jalalu-Din Firuz and Alau-D-Din Muhammad are from the Hazrat Delhi and Darul Islam mints as mentioned above. The Capital city of the Sultans has always been their chief place of mintage and Delhi, with the epithet Hazrat, appears on most of the coins throughout the reigns of the Sultans of Dehli and even up to the early coins of the Moghul Emperor Akbar¹.

Mr. Hodivala is of opinion that "the epithet Hazrat refers to Hazrat Sultan, i.e., the august or Royal Presence or His Majesty"². If he means that "Hazrat" connotes the Royal presence, the matter becomes doubtful as considering the meaning of the word 'Hazrat' and also the use of the words "Hazrat Delhi" in coins, it does not seem that the word "Hazrat" refers to "Hazrat Sultan". According to Steingass the word "Hazrat" means, "also a title by which Kings and great men are addressed, similar to

1. Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore, by R. B. Whitehead, Vol. II., p. 47.
2. Journal, A. S. B. New Series, Vol. XVII, 1921, p. 148.

'majesty, highness, lordship, worship, etc., a royal court, a town residence ; a settled abode.'" ¹ Now the epithet "Hazrat" occurring in coins is always preceded by a preposition "ب" which simply means 'at'. As it means 'at', the word "Hazrat" obviously cannot by implication refer to a Sultan, but can only be the qualifying epithet of Delhi. *بحضرت دہلی* (Ba-Hazrat Delhi) on coins must therefore mean the royal court or a town or city where the Sultan resides or resided.

Two of the coins Nos. 4 and 7 of our hoard are from the Darul Islam mint. The mint Darul Islam, appears first on the coins of our Alau-D-Din Muhammad and thereafter recurs till the middle of the reign of Muhammad Tughluq of the dynasty which succeeded the Khaljis. "Darul Islam" mean 'Abode of Islam' which "is a country where the ordinances of Islam are established and which is under the rule of a Muslim sovereign. Its inhabitants are Muslims and also non-Muslims who have submitted to Muslim control, and who under certain restrictions and without the possibility of full citizenship, are guaranteed their lives and property by the Muslim State"². It is recorded that Alau-D-Din Muhammad built a new city at Siri about which Timur who invaded India about a century later, says in his auto-biography that it "is a round city". Its buildings are lofty. They are surrounded by fortifications, built of stone and brick and they are very strong. Old

¹ Persian-English Dictionary by F. Steingass, P. 422

² Encyclopædia of Islam, Houtsma,

Delhi also has a similar strong fort, but it is larger than that of Siri. From the fort of Siri to that of Old Delhi, which is a considerable distance, there runs a strong wall, built of stone and cement"¹. Sultan Alau-D-Din Muhammad moved in A. H. 703 (A. D. 1303) to his new city which was also entitled Darul Khilafat ² and which was virtually a continuation of the city of Old Delh.. Though there is no record to shew the precise location of the Darul Islam mint, Mr. Nevill suggests that the Darul Islam coins were minted at Old Delhi and the Hazrat Delhi coins were minted at Siri ³. This, however, seems to be a very doubtful theory: As mentioned above, Hazrat Delhi mintage persists into the early years of Akbar's reign while the Darul Islam mintage has not yet been found after the reign of Muhammad Tughluq (A. D. 1325-1351.) There seems no logical reason therefore, why the successors of Muhammad Tughluq and later the Moghul Akbar who made Old Delhi their seat of Government should have preferred to strike "Hazrat Delhi" coins at Siri rather than at old Delhi. Moreover, "Hazrat Delhi" coins were always minted at Old Delhi during the reigns of the predecessors of Alau-D-Din Muhammad and it is not till his reign that the Darul Islam mintage occurs. Added to this,

¹ Malfuzat-i-Timuri, E & D. Vol. III, p. 447.

² Travels of Ibn Batuta, E & D Vol. III, p. 589.

³ Journal A. S. B. New Series, Vol. XVII, 1921, p. 119. The coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi by H. Nelson Wright, p. 106.

we have to remember the significance of the word Darul Islam on the coinage in connection with the building of a new City Siri also entitled Darul Khilafat in conformity with his religious views and the undoubted establishment of a new mint called Darul Islam in Alau-D-Din Muhammad's reign. Nizamu-D-din, the famous historian at Akbar's Court, speaking about the reign of Alau-D-Din Muhammad, says, "In no other period were so many great religious teachers and so many wayfarers, in the path of faith, whose noble presence made Delhi the object of the envy of the other cities of the world, collected together as in his reign"¹. The city of Delhi so described is more probably Siri, known as Darul Khilafat, a new city which fulfilled the conditions laid down for a Darul Islam. All these facts point more probably to the site of the Darul Islam mint being at Siri rather than at Old Delhi, as suggested by Mr Nevill.

1 Tabaqat-i-Akbari (B. De). Bibl. Ind. Vol. 1
p. 185.

ACCOUNT OF TRADE OF BHAGALPUR IN THE 19th. CENTURY

BY K. K. BASU

The District of Bhagalpur was an important centre of trade in the 19th. century. It was divided into two parts, namely, the country extending from the Ganges to the Nepal territory which was said to comprise one portion of the district, and the country lying to the south, west and east of the Ganges and extending from Murshidabad and Birbhum on the east to Monghyr on the west. There were no roads in the interior of the district worthy of that name. The roads that were under the charge of the Ferry Fund Committee were country roads and not passable except in the months of January, February, March, April and May. The country to the north was low and not well adapted for roads as it suffered from inundation during the rainy season. In fact, the country was better adapted for the construction of a canal than for roads.

There were no very large towns within the district, and the traders generally resided in the villages on the river Ganges. There were grain marts at Bhagalpur, Colgong and Sultangunj, all situated on the Ganges.

From the list of merchants, traders and shopkeepers and manufacturers in the District Bhagalpur supplied by George Dickinson, the collector,

under date 12th January 1796, we learn that the number of houses belonging to the Mahajans or big merchants residing at parganas Bhagalpur, Colgong and Surajgurrah were 9, 11, and 4 respectively: those of gollahdars or keepers of granaries at Bhagalpur, Colgong, Curruckpur, Monghyr and Surajgurrah were 24, 1, 32, 46 and 6 : of beoparies or retail dealers were 1022, 198, 591, 478, and 80: of suraffs or money changers were 89, 24, 9, 27 and 60. The weavers belonging to both the communities, Hindu and Muslim, resided at parganas Bhagalpur and Colgong only. The number of houses of the Hindu weavers living at Bhagalpur and Colgong were 289 and 21 respectively and those of Muslim caste 593 and 68. The druggists or *punsarries* lived mostly at the pargana of Bhagalpur where their houses numbered 115 ; at Monghyr their families numbered 68 and those at Curruckpur 48. The coppersmiths or *Rohengurs*, as they were called in the native language, numbered 41 families at Monghyr, 21 at Curruckpur, 16 at Colgong and 13 at Bhagalpur. The zurghur or goldsmith figure 144 at Bhagalpur, 76 at Curruckpur, 68 at Monghyr and 20 at Surajgurrah. The largest number of *sungtarash* or stone cutters lived at Curruckpur where their number was 36. Sixty families of *Bajaazs* or cloth merchants lived at pargana Bhagalpur. The family of *chemeenah-ferrosh* or seller of shoes figured 10 at Monghyr and 5 at Bhagalpur. The fireworkers or *Attush Baus* numbered 4 at Colgong, 3 at Bhagalpur and 2 at Monghyr. Thus, the total number of merchants, traders and manufacturers living at parganas Bhagalpur, Colgong,

Curruckpur, Monghyr and Surajgurrah was 6680, 1763, 3131, 3192 and 471 respectively.

The collector's report dated 21st January 1791 provides an account of the measurement of the land on which the hats, bazars and gunges were situated and erected in the District of Bhagalpur. We learn that the number of such hats and bazars at pargana Bhagalpur was 46, Curruckpur 42, Monghyr 26, Colgong 26, Chye 17, Furkeya 8, Surajgurrah 7 and Selimabad 6—the total number of hats etc. in the whole District being 178 and the total amount of land occupied by them 1105 bighas and 17 cottahs. The District of Rajmahal which formed a component part of the District of Bhagalpur contained 110 hats and bazars occupying an area of 168 bighas and 6 cottahs.

The total number of shops in pargana Bhagalpur as given by the collector in his report dated 16th February 1791 was 3671. Nathnagar occupied the first place in having a largest number of shops which totalled 929, the others which came next to it were Nathnagar, Sujagunj, Khanjerpur and Mehdi-nagar having 803, 273, 235 and 233 shops respectively.

M. C. Lucas, a European merchant resided at Bhagalpur since May 1815. He was engaged in trade in the countries of Guzrat, Kathiawar, Cutch, Surat, Dehli, Lucknow, Benares, Jaunpur and Ghazipur carrying on traffic by land and water. His account of trade and merchandise introduced through the District of Bhagalpur drawn up under orders of the district executive and subjoined to the letter of J. P. Ward, Collector of Bhagalpur,

dated 27th January 1827 to Trotter, Secretary to the Board of Customs salt and opium, reveals a clear and perfect state of external trade carried on in the District.

It was reported by M. C. Lucas that merchandise to the value of lacs of rupees was introduced through the district. Articles such as castor oil, Teesee, mustard, tobacco and mollasses were brought to Barh where they were exchanged for wheat, pulses, gram and taken to Dariapur, Surajgurrah, Monghyr and Bhagalpur for sale. Other articles were purchased from Colgong and Rajmahal and taken to Jangipur (Murshidabad) where the return is in rice, Tussur, Taunt and like. During the rainy season when the nullas were full and the plains overflowed for six months, the trade was carried on in boats.

From the south viz., from the hills and forests of Ramghur, Rajmahal and Birbhum trade was but mollasses, iron, ubruck, sindoor, tezpat, bans-lochun, rosin and lac and other articles to the value of thousands of rupees were carried on and brought for sale at Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Rajmahal.

To the north viz., from the Morung country the articles of trade were timber, rosin, wax etc., which were brought and deposited for sale at Jungipur. From Rangpur sitringes or carpets were imported: from Nepal musk, elephants teeth, wax, munjeet, cheratta, tezpat, cardamums, iron, and putto: from Purnea wrought videries were brought and deposited for sale at Rajmahal, Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Tirhut.

The merchants of the west brought down via Burhipur, Ramghur, Muzafferpur, Tirhut etc, sahuns, tanjabs, ekpattas, cotton clothes manufactured at Barh, Jahana, Mow, Hazipur, Tegra, Dulsingsarai, Begusarai etc. for sale at Bhagalpur, Rajmahal and Jungipur and thence took soosee, Baftas etc. for sale at Malda, Dinajpur, Rungpur and Morung markets. From Malda and Rungpur cloth and silk were imported. The Brahmans of the west brought down on land by cattle shawls, romals, kinkobs and chudurs taking out of Calcutta rowaunas for goods to the value only for 1000 Rs. when their baies might be in value to the extent of 5000 Rs. disposing of the difference between the actual despatch and the description given of it in the rowannah at places intermediate between the custom house at Patna and Murshedabad, viz., Barh Dariyapur, Surajgurrah, Bhagalpur Monghyr, Rajmahal, Burdwan and Jungipur.

Regarding the class of people engaged in the internal and external trade of the district it has been said that the merchants included people of every description and all countries. There was particular a very interesting case in which a person at Patna, formerly a shoe-maker in consequence of having obtained a prize in lottery to the value of a lac of rupees carried on a trade of unlimited extent.

It is interesting to learn the particulars of articles of trade imported in the District of Bhagalpur from westward as supplied by M. C. Lucas in his report mentioned above. From Azimabad were

imported different sort of shoes, hookas, snakes, silver and gold embroidered cloths, Dinapur boots, towels, table sheets, wax candles, and cloths; from Ghazipur came rose water, perfume Chamelee oil, kinkob cloths, elaichee Musoorod cloths, gul sucree and gul Kund.

E. F. Lantour, the officiating Collector of Bhagalpur, in his letter dated the 23rd Nov. 1854 to W. Grey, the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, supplied a very valuable and useful information regarding the cultivation of the more valuable products of whatever nature in his district, of the state and course of its trade with the other parts of the country and of obstacles to the growth and easy transport of commodities that were of extensive demand in commerce.

Among the articles of export referred to by E.F. Lantour in his aforesaid report may be mentioned names such as, linseed, mustard 1st sort (surson), ghee, mustard 2nd. sort, jumaeu (seed of a plant: *Lignaticum*), kuth (a vegetable extract used with betel leaf), lodh (bark of a tree used in dying: *Symplocos racemosa*), Aunla (a fruit, *phyllanthis emblica*), Hurra (an astringent nut, *myrobolan*), wheat, gram, cytissus cajan, castor seed, raw sugar, til, hide, buffalo horn, lac and sealing wax.

The list of imports included salt, pepper, beetle nut, cloves, cardamums, rock salt, jawatree, magnet, red lead, tin, lead, dry ginger, tejpat, methee, sulphur cocoanut, monucca (a dry

fruit) copper, almond, brasspots, chohara (dry dates), dalcheenee, camphor, jethee mudh, ukur kurha (name of a medicine), Al (a tree from the root of which red colour is extracted for staining leather), red wood, cinnabar, para, googool (Amyris agallocha), sufeda (white lead), chundun oil (oil-prepared of sandal wood), terpentine, sulphur oil, seetal cheenee (myrtus piments), zeera, sounf (Anise seed), kalla numuk (a kind of rock salt impregnated with sulphur and bitumen which leaves a hepatic flavour in the mouth), huldee (turmeric), Luhsoon (garlic), garoo mittee (a kind of red earth), kirmichee (crimson), chureelah (a kind of fragrant moss), heeng (Assafoetida), kharee (salt brackish), sujjee (a kind of mineral alkali), sugar, sugar candy, tobacco, iron pots, salt petre (sorah), Jungal (verdigrise), brass pots, sohaga (borax), nusadur (antimony).

Among the mercantile firms of Bhagalpur dealing with bills of exchange and the like, names may be mentioned of the following:--

1786 A.D.....	Banee Prashad.
1787 A.D.....	Brindabun Dass.
1801 A.D.....	Baijnath Shah
	Brindabun Shah.
	Balnath and Gopinaih
	Harnath Shah.

The internal trade of the District was free and unrestricted. There were, however, certain articles that may be regarded as monopolies and granted to zemindars on contract. The report of the collector

of Bhagalpur dated the 26th Oct. 1789 deals with monopolies prevailing in the sundry parganas of the district. In pargana Bhagalpur, the list of monopolies included red lead, chunam, saltpetre, timber and bamboo; in Colgong pargana, ghee formed an important monopoly: in Monghyr, Red lead; in Curruckpore, salt, red lead, lac, saltpetre: in Furkeyah, red lead. salt was a monopoly in Chye, Furkeyah. Bhagalpur, Colgong, and two tuppas of Curruckpur. The profit arising out of monopoly articles was shared by the Government and the Zemindars but the shares varied. For instance, at Curruckpur, the Government share was 14 annas per rupee-the remaining 2 annas going to the Zemindars and Canongoes. In Chye the government share was $\frac{1}{4}$ of the profit and so on.

The monopoly of salt, one of the principal necessities of life, did not, however, continue for a long time. The proclamation of A. Seton, the Collector of Bhagalpur, dated 28th Oct. 1789 threw open the trade in salt and enforced the payment of a small market duty (2 pucca gundas for a shop) by the vendors of this article that "did not occasion any considerable increase of price by its rate nor did destroy competition by its mode. "Monopolies of certain other articles were also abolished. In view of the fact that the military garrison at Monghyr was not properly supplied with provision on account of monopoly of some articles a government proclamation was issued on 25th Nov. 1789 abolishing from the beginning of the next month monopolies of spirituous liquors, fish, sheep and kids, fowls, bullocks, dulallee or the exclusive privilege of acting as

cloth or thread broker and enforcing the payment of market duties by the vendors of the following articles at the rates mentioned against each :

Spirituous liquors—6 annās per still per day.

Sheep and Kids—8 annas per shop per per month.

Fish—8 pice per maund on the sale.

Ganjah (flower bud of the bush of that name dried for smoking with tobacco.)—4 annas per shop per month.

Besides the river Ganges, the other means of communication in the District were the roads whose condition, it has been already mentioned, were far from satisfactory. The repair of the roads, as well as their construction entrusted to the zemindars. The conditions and stipulations entered into by the zemindars at the time of the Decennial settlement included the liability of constructing and keeping in repair the roads and bridges within their own estates. One of such instances may here be cited. Ganga Govind Bose, a zemindar of pargana Colgong, in compliance with the desire of the Collector of Bhagalpur constructed in the year 1829 and the four following years, two temporary bridges across the two small nullahs crossing the road to facilitate the march of the Company's troops and for which he prayed that he should be remunerated for the expense he incurred. His application was rejected on the ground that the cabooliyut conferring upon him the right of ownership stipulated the

constructions of the roads by the zemindars as obligatory and as such he was not entitled to receive any sum of money which he claimed from the Government for the expenses incurred.

AN UNIDENTIFIED JĀTAKA SCENE FROM AJANTA

By M. G. DIKSHIT

In the year 1932-33, when some conservation work in the world-famous Ajanta Caves was being conducted by the Archaeological Department of the Hyderabad State, several new frescoes were brought to light, which were hitherto lying hidden under a deep crust of smoke and dirt. These were described by Mr. G. Yazdani¹ in the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* for 1932, whose account of them is accompanied by three excellent plates² illustrating them. While most of the scenes depicted therein have been properly identified, one of the frescoes painted on the wall of the left Gallery in Cave XVI, still awaits identification. It is the object of this short note³ to point out its bearing with a Jātaka story, with which, as everybody is now aware, many of the rock-walls of the Ajanta monastery are painted.

The scene to be identified is illustrated on Plate VII(a), and depicts the murder of a child.

¹ Yazdani, *Note on Frescoes discovered at Ajanta*; *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*. Vol. VII, pp. 31-32.

² *Ibid.*, Plates V, VI, VII.

In the left portion of the fresco, one sees two women holding a child by the head and the legs, while a third person, probably a male, whose head is destroyed, is seen brandishing a naked sword.

Higher up in the middle of the fresco, we see four male figures sitting in an attitude of respect, with joined hands in front of another boy who is delivering a sermon to them.

This scene illustrates one of the feats of intelligence by Mahosadha, from the Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka (No. 546)¹, which is narrated as follows:—

Once the Bodhisattva was born as Mahosadha, son of Sirivaddha, in the Kingdom of Mithilā. At a very early age he began to show signs of extraordinary intelligence and had created a wonderful place by the side of a tank, for playing in it. King Videha, who was counselled by four wise sages Senaka, Pukkusa, Kāvinda and Devinda, hearing of this, sent for the boy Mahosadha to be appointed as his minister. In order to test his intelligence the four sages asked him to solve several riddles, One of these was "The Riddle of the Buy".

Once a certain goblin stole the child of another man, who had gone to a tank to wash her face, and ran away with it claiming it as her own. In order to restore it to the rightful owner, the seven year old Mahosadha, had the child held by the two

¹ The *Jātaka* (Ed. Fausboll) Vol. VII, pp. 336, Trans. (Ed. Cowell) Vol. VI, pp. 163; This Jātaka has a Sinhalese version called *Mahaushadha Jātaka* (Story of the Tunnel) Trans. by Yatawara (Luxac. 1898). Later portions of the same story appear in the *Mahāvastu* (Ed. Senart, Vol. II, pp. 83-9. cf. B. C. Law, A Study of the Mahāvastu, p. 114.

women, by its legs and the head and asked each of them to pull it by the extremities. It was only the mother's heart that let the wailing child go. Maho-sadha then asked the mother to take it away.

It is this part of the episode that is illustrated by the fresco.

Those who examine the fresco with greater scrutiny and care, will not fail to notice, that, of the two females, the one of the left holding the child by the head, is shown with a more crude expression on her face, than the figure on the right holding the legs.

To one who is already familiar with the technique of the Ajanta paintings, it is not very difficult to distinguish between a goblin and an ordinary human figure, which is almost always depicted with greater serenity and softness than the former. Evidently the figure holding the child's legs, is its mother, and that which holds it by the head is the goblin. And this is precisely the position in which the child is described as held in Jātaka story.

In the upper portion of the fresco, by the side of the two women, we see a third male figure in the attitude of striking the child with a sword. It is true that in the Pāli or the Sinhalese version of the Jātaka, we do not find any reference made to another third person being employed to kill the child. But can we not explain the existence of this figure by saying that it was only the *Artist's version* of the story that is represented by this fresco, just to make the meaning of the scene more clear? Per-

haps the mere holding of the child by two women would not have conveyed the fuller meaning of the picture.

Having recognized this part of the episode, it is very easy to explain the scene continued in the uppermost portion in the middle of the fresco.

The figure represented as delivering a sermon to four persons is no other than the seven year old Mahosadha, and the persons are the four sages Senaka, Pukkusa, Kāvinda and Devinda who instructed King Videha.

Mr. Yazdani seems to think that the boy who is delivering the sermon, is probably the same as the child who has miraculously escaped from the hands of its murderers. But such a conclusion is not plausible when the scene is now interpreted in the light of the above Jātaka story. The figure of Mahosadha appears to be of a boy seven years old as told in the story.

It may incidently be remarked that the Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka is one of the few Jātaka stories that have always fascinated the popular Buddhist mind. Several representations of it are obtained in sculpture as well as in paintings.

At Bharhut,¹ the latter part of this Jātaka namely the Story of Amarā, is found depicted under the label "Yava Majjhima Jātaka". This episode is repeated again in the frescoes in Cave I at Ajanta².

¹ Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, p. 49, Plate V, 5.

² Yazdani, *Ajanta*, Vol. I, Plate XXIII (a); Explanatory Text I, p. 26. Golobew, *Ars Asiatica*, X, Plate XII (Bottom).

Several episodes connected with the feats of intelligence of Mahosadha as also the story of Amarā are found sculptured in the panels from the Stupa at Nagarjunikonda.¹

- ¹ Cf. B. M. Barua, Some Nagarjunikonda Sculptures Identified; *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 486 ff. and Plates. Cf. Longhurst, *M. A. S. Z.* No. 54, Plates XXXVIII (a) (b) and XXXVI (a) and (b) and XXXIX (a) where some of the scenes are explained differently.

HINDU CONTRIBUTION TO PERSIAN LITERATURE

By M. L. ROY CHOUDHURY

The Hindus did not accept the Persian language all at once. Some Persian words entered into the *Pirthraj Rasha* of Chankin (Chand Bardai). *Parwardigar* Ferishtan informs us that Sikandar Lodi was the first Muslim ruler who asked the Hindu officers to learn Persian. Of course if the Afghans conversed in Persian the Hindus might have been compelled to learn the language of the State out of necessity. Our knowledge regarding Indian contribution to Persian language and literature of pre-Mughal period is meagre due to the aversion of the historians of Persian literature to recognise Indian contributions to be of any importance. In fact, Walah Daghistani, the author of *Riyāzūsh-Shūarā*, a well known biography of Persian poets, "takes much pride in neglecting the writers of India, as most of them, he considers, have produced mere nonsense"¹. Hindus are indeed slow to move, but if once they are roused they can run fast. By the time Akbar came to throne of Hindustan, many Hindus had learnt the Persian language because Todar Mal issued a Farman during the reign of Sher Shah that records were to be kept in Persian. The fifteenth century

¹ Muslim Review, Calcutta, vol. III, p. 36.

was a period of intellectual upheaval. The Mehdi movement had produced a large amount of scholastic and theological literature. There were innumerable Madrasas and Maktabas where Hindus and Muslims received instructions under common teachers even as early as Sher Shah's time¹. Akbar having been bred in the midst of the literary associations of Persia, his mother being a Persian lady, he naturally imbibed a love for Persian. He was the first of the Muslim rulers in India to think in terms of a state language. He gave the place of honour to Persian. Henceforth, Persian was taken up very seriously by the Hindus and their contribution has enriched Persian substantially.

A summary of Hindu contribution to Persian language is given below.

King.	Name of the poet.	Name of the Book.
Akbar	.. Bhavan ..	.. '<i>Naldamyanti</i> ' translated in Persian.
Akbar	.. Rai Bhupat Rai Sawaice (poetic name—'Be-gham')	
Akbar & Jahangir	.. Raja Manohar Das	.. Mathnavi. (Appreciated in Persia), Saeb in his famous ' <i>Bayaz</i> ' mentioned him as great poet.
Shah Jahan	.. Chandra Bhan. (poetical name—'Brahman') His teacher was 'Abdul Hakim of Sialkot, appointed a Secretary to Dara. Chief writer of the Prince.	' <i>Chahar-Chaman</i> ' on Persian style and composition regarded by Persian Scholar as model treated almost equal to 'Abdul Fadl's ' <i>Insha</i> '. Writer of ' <i>Gazal</i> ' and ' <i>Diwan</i> '

¹ Abul Hasanat has published an excellent list of Muslim schools in his '*Hindustan ki Qadim Islami Dargahen*' from Nadwa.

- Shah Jahan .. Mathura Das— praised Caligraphist and
in *M'āṣir ul' Umara* as a Prose Writer.
caligraphist and prose
writer. He was put to
prison by Khan Zamān,
Governor Bengal. But
wrote a fine message to
the Emperor through
Hakim Rukna Kāshī
which brought his
release.
- Shah Jahan .. Muhammad 'Alī, original—Writer of verses.
ly a Hindu, but known
by Muslim name. Poeti-
cal name is 'Mahir'—
Dara Shekoh was his
patron who gave him the
title of 'Murid Khan'.
- Aurangzeb .. Heya (Sew Ram) Hazari Put into verse the
(Gur Baksh). Hindu story of
'*Kamrup Kamta*.'
- Khusgo (Brindaban Das) 'Tazkira' and writer
of a descriptive
account of 'Mathura.'
- Aurangzeb .. Sabqat (Sukhraj) Mukh- *Khizana-i-Amira*, he
lis (Anand Ram). was a great poet who
has been referred to
by Gulam 'Ali Azad
Bilgrami' often quot-
ed by authors.
- Lucknow, Oudh Kundan Lal Asuki. He was a writer of
and Behar. Rai Sanath Singh ' Bai- a 'Diwan of 500
dar' attached to court lines,' specialist in
rulers of Oudh, like chronology. Verse
Shūjaud-dawāh and Writer,
Asaf-ud-dowla.

Kanwar Joswant Singh *Qaseeda* writer
'Parowana'. (Long penegeric).

Mirza Muhammad Hus-
ain 'Qateel'.

Originality a Khstri Wrote a grammar,
of Lahore. He was a composition, prosody
Persian teacher of many and rhetoric. His
Muslim pupils at Luck- works ;—
now.

1. *Nahrul Faṣḥat*
 2. *Shajarat-ul-Amani*
 3. *Chahar Sharbat*
- His letters are
still models of
prose. He knew
Arabic and Turki.

Ranjar Rai .. '*Daqiqul-Insha*'

'Khus-go' (Brindaban 'Gulgasht-i-Bahâr-i-
Das). Iran'.

Jahandar Shah Madhu Ram, Bhagwan '*Insha*' (model of
Das, Disciple of Faqir Persian composition
Makîn. *La'bat-i-Chin*'.

(Nuzdat) Lala Mushtâq Translated Ramayan
Rai. and Mahabharat in
Persian.

Hakîm Anand of Thane- Wrote Krishna leg-
swar. end in Persian

Sial-Koti Mal .. Collected Persian
idioms and helped
Indian writers to be
touched with origi-
nal Persian usages.

Lala Udi Bhan, Comm- Wrote '*Bahar-i-*
only known as Tek Chan *Ajami* is an ocean
Bahar 1775 A. D. of Persian words
and idioms. It
serves as a back
ground of compari-
tive philosophy

His two other works
are.—

1. *Jawāher-ul-Hu-*
roof—.
2. *Nawādir-ul*
Musādir.

Hindu writers on Science in Persian.

Medini Mal .. Badā'eyul Funūn .. Translation of an
arithmetic work
based on Līlāvatī.

Gobind .. Risalah .. A book on Tajik
(influence of stars on
human life)

Mirza Raja Jai Zich-i-Muhammad Shahi Astronomical compila-
Singh tion,

Mahadev .. Himmat Prakash .. On medicine.
Bhatta.

Harsukh Rai.. Zubdatul Qawānīn .. An account of Hindu
Arithmetic.

Arabic-Persian-Sanskrit-Dictionary written by Hindus.

Ganga Bisn *Majmū'a.*

Kawl.

Giridhari Lal *Ganj-o-Lugat.*

Pandit Ganga *Shir-o-Shakkar.*

Kishun

Sial Koti Mal *Muntakhab ut Shu'arā'*
(on prosody).

Hindu writers on Persian Grammar

- Tek Chand Bahr .. *Bahar-i-'Ajam* (Persian words and idioms).
 (Lila Udai Bhan)
Nawādir-i-Maṣādir (peculiar roots)

Qateel (a man of Lahore). *Nahrul, Faṣḥat, Char-Sharbat.*

Hindus who wrote Mathnavi in Persian.

Kishan Chand Ikas, Banwari Das Wali, Sialkoti Mal,
 Joswant Rao Munshi, Shiv Ram Haya, Tansukh Roa Sauk
 Anand Ghana and Tikaram.

Hindus who wrote stories and novels in Persian.

- Kriparam Khatri—wrote *Rangin Baḥr* (story of Bharam and Darab's daughter).
 Udit Chand Kayestha .. *Quṣṣayis-i-Nawruz-i-Shah* (almost an Arabian Nights).
 Dalpat Rai .. *Malahat-i-Muqāl* (anecdotes).
 Madhu Rai Guzrati .. *Manak Monohar*.
 Brahman Hisari .. *Tuḥfatul Hisari*.
 Ranjit Rai .. *Kanuj's Haq-wa-Lalpari*.
 Banwali .. *Gulzari Hāl* (translations of Prabodh Chandrodaya).
 Rup Narain .. *Shash Jihat* (one story book which may be expanded into six stories by reading it in six ways).
 Chatrubhuj Kayet, } All of them translated 'Battish
 (Akbar) Bihari Mal } Singhasan'.
 Khetri (Jahangir) Ibn }
 Harkaran Das (Shah }
 Jahan) Kissen Dass }
 Basudev (Aurangzeb) }

History written by Hindus in Persian.

- Brindaban Das .. *Lubbut Twārikh*—(summary of Tārīkhi Ferishta).
 Banwali Das Wali .. *Raja Wali*.
 Lachinarayan .. *Hālāt-i-Maharatta*.
 Raja Monohar .. *Khūlāṣat ul Hind*.
 Iswar Das .. *Fatuhāt-i-'Alamgiri*.
 Narayan Kaul Aziz .. *Tārīkhi Kāsmīr*.
 Sujan Rai .. *Khūlāṣatut Twārikh*.

Rai Chatrman	..	<i>Chahār Gulshan.</i>
Jugjiwan Das	..	<i>Muntakhabut Twārikh.</i>
Bhim Sen ..	..	<i>Tārikh-i-Dilkusha</i> (Aurangzeb's wars in the Deccan).
Chandra Bhan	..	<i>Chahār Chaman</i> (model of Persian style).
Anand Brahman	..	<i>Nizam-i-Dānish.</i>
Kamraj ..	..	(Life of 'Azam Shah) ' <i>Ibrat-Nāmah</i> '.
Lachmi Narayan	..	<i>Masir-i-Asafī</i> (History of the Nizam), <i>Risahatul Ghanaium</i> (Mahratta History).
Hari Ram Munshi	..	<i>Raja Sohābali.</i>
Sib Prasad	..	<i>Tārikhu-Farid Baksh.</i>
Kewal Ram	..	<i>Tajkirat-ul-'Umarū.</i>
Bhagawan Das	..	<i>Shahjahan-namah</i>
Khusul Chand	..	<i>Tarikhī Muhammadi.</i>

From the above information, it is evident that Hindus looked upon Persian not only as an official language but they loved it as much as they did their own language. It is not a fact that they served the cause of Persian at the cost of their own mother languages always. In fact, provincial literatures like Hindi, Bengali, Mahrathi made wonderful progress during this period. Muslim patronage and facility of entering Government service were to a great extent responsible for this great progress made by the Hindus in their language of adoption.

YASODHARMAN OR YASOVARMAN

By DASARATHA SHARMA

The Bihar Kotra inscription of Naravarman's time¹ calls this ruler an *Aulikara*. Now, in the Mandasor inscription of 589 M. E., Emperor Yasodharman's family too bears the same name². Therefore, as rightly pointed out by Mr. S. N. Chakravarti,³ these two rulers, Yasodharman and Naravarman, must be regarded as members of one and the same family. We learn of some other members of this line from the Gangadhar and Mandasore inscriptions of, respectively, M. E. 480, 461, and 493, and can, piecing together all the information, thus gained, represent their genealogy as follows⁴ :—

Jayavarman
|
Simhavarman
|
Naravarman (474 M. E.)
|
Visvavarman (480 M. E.)
|
Bandhuvarman (493 M. E.)
|
Yasodharman (589 M. E.)

1 *Epigraphia Indica*, XXVI, pp. 130 ff. Dated in 474 M. E.

2 *Prakhyāta Aulikaralañchhana ātmavaṃśo yēnoditoditapadaṃ gamitaṃ gariyaḥ* //6//

3 Editor of the Bihar Kotra inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

4 For the texts of these inscriptions see *Epigraphia Indica*. XII, Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 17 and No. 18.

The names of all the rulers here excepting the last thus end with the termination *varman*. Would it not, therefore, be reasonable to suppose that the last name too in the above genealogical table is actually Vasovarman, especially when we know that the letters *v* and *dh* in the Gupta script were so similar to each other that one could, through a slight negligence of the engraver, be easily inscribed and read as the other ?

The absence of records of the *Aulikara* family for the greater part of the 6th century of the Mālava era is probably due to its decline in power and prestige as the result of the irruption of the Huns whose destructive work is, if my surmise be regarded as correct, referred to in the following verse of Vatsabhaṭṭi's *prāsaṭi*¹ :—

*bahunā samatīṛtena kālenānyaiścha pārthivaiḥ
vyaśīryataikadeśosya bhavanasya tatodhunā*
11 36 11

¹ See in this connection my papers on the *prāsaṭi* published in the *Indian Culture*, Vols. III, IV, and VI.

Notes of the Quarter

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's Office on Sunday, the 7th February, 1943, at 9-30 A. M.

Present

The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir
Saiyid Fazl Ali (in the Chair).

The Rt. Rev. Dr. S. Sullivan, S. J.

Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail.

Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on November 22, 1942.
2. Passed the monthly accounts for the months of November and December, 1942,
3. Passed payments of the following :—
 - (a) Messrs. Chakerverty & Rs. as p.
Co.'s Bill No. 453, dated
3-12-1942 for supply of
books 38 10 0
 - (b) Patna Law Press Bill No.
3021/42, dated 26-12-42,
printing charges for
September issue of the
Society's Journal .. 624 2 0
4. Read letter, dated 19-11-1942 from the National Central Library, Chungking,

China, requesting for a free supply of the Society's publications.

Resolved that copies of the Society's Journal be supplied to the National Central Library, Chungking from the current year.

5. Read and recorded letter, dated 2-12-42 from the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in connection with the celebration of its Golden Jubilee.

6. Read letter No. 131, dated 2-1 1943 from the Editor, "Man in India".

Resolved that a complete set of the back numbers of the Journal "Man in India" be purchased for the Society's Library for a sum of Rs. 162 and that the Journal "Man in India" be placed on our-exchange list from the year 1943 as proposed by the Editor of that Journal.

7. Considered arrangements for the next Annual Meeting.
8. Passed a resolution of condolence on the death of Dr. Johnston Boden, Professor of Sanskrit, Oxford, who was editing 'Uttara-tantra' for the Society's Journal.
9. The new rates submitted by the Patna Law Press for the printing of the Society's Journal were approved.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI
Honorary General Secretary.

8-2-1943.

*Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the
Bihar and Orissa Research Society held
in the Society's office on Sunday, the 14th
March, 1943 at 10 A. M.*

Present

The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid
Fazl Ali (in the Chair).

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. P. Varma.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. S. Sullivan, S. J.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on February 7, 1943.
2. Passed the monthly accounts for the months of January and February, 1943.
3. Confirmed payments of the following :—
 - (a) Indian Photo Engraving Rs. as. p.
Co., Bill No. BP.-19-CR,
dated 8-43 printing
charges of a plate for
December issue .. 30 3 0
 - (b) Man in India Office Bill
No. 51, dated 19-2-43 for
purchase of a set of Man
in India in 21 Vols. .. 169 10 0
 - (c) C. O. Book-stall Bill
No. 276, dated 23-2-1943,
cost of books .. 202 0 0

4. Elected the following gentlemen as ordinary members of the Society.
 - (a) K. C. Varma, Esq., Manager, Remington Road Inc. Systems Department, Delhi :—
 - (b) Babu Ajaynath Banerji, B. A., VI-Year Student, Patna College.
 - (c) Babu Yogendra Mishra, B. A., VI Year Student, Patna College.
5. Considered arrangements for holding the Annual Meeting.

It was decided to request Mr. Percy Brown, M. B. E., A. R. C. A., I. E. S. (Retd.) lately Principal, Government School of Art, Calcutta and at present Curator, Victoria Memorial, Calcutta, to deliver a lecture on 'Architectural Evolution of the Temple in India' which will be illustrated with lantern slides.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI
Honorary General Secretary,
17-3-1943.

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

Annual Report for 1942-43

I.—MEMBERSHIP

The total number of ordinary members and subscribers to the Society's Journal on the 31st December, 1942 was 116. The Society lost four of its ordinary members (one by resignation and three by death). Six new members were enrolled in the course of the year. With the 11 Honorary members and 15 Life members, the total membership of the Society stands at 142.

At last year's Annual General Meeting the following were elected office-bearers of the Society and Members of the Council :—

President :—His Excellency Sir Thomas Alexander Stewart, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

Vice-President :—The Hon'ble Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt., Barrister-at-Law.

Secretary :—Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M. B. E., M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon.)

Treasurer :—Sham Bahadur, Esq., M. B. E.

Librarian :—Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala, M. A.

Editorial Board:—The Hon'ble Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt., Barrister-at-Law.
Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M. B. E.,
M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon.)

Members of the Council in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian who are ex-officio members :—

The Hon'ble Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. P. Varma.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sankara Balaji
Dhavle, I. C. S.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. S. Sullivan, S. J.

R. E. Russell, Esqr., C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A., B. L.

Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail.

Dr. Harichand Sastri, D. Litt.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M. A., D. Phil.

II.—MEETINGS

The last Annual General Meeting was held on the 24th March, 1942 in the Physics Lecture Theatre, Science College, Patna, the Hon'ble Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt., Vice-President of the Society presiding. After the transaction of formal business, the Vice-President reviewed the work of the Society during the past year. The meeting was followed by an interesting lecture on "Indian Painting" delivered by Mr. P. C. Manuk, Barrister-at-Law, Patna.

Meetings of the Council were held on the 8th March, 2nd August, 27th September and 22nd November, 1942.

III.—JOURNAL

During the period under review Parts 1, 2, 3 and 4 of Volume XXVIII of the Society's Journal containing 488 pages and 2 plates together with an Appendix of 92 pages of Bhojpuri Folk Songs have been published.

The first plate was a photograph of the late Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A., B. L., one of the foundation members of the Society and the other of three Specimens of Magadhan Script showing the evolution of the Script from the XIII to the XV Century. The Specimens are—(1) an autograph of Bibhūticandra from MS. dated 1203 A. D. obtained from Tibet, (2) stone inscription dated 1400 A. D. from Bihar and (3) handwritten copy of Visṇupurāṇa colophon by Mm. Pakṣadhara Miśra dated 1464 A. D. acquired from Mithilā.

IV.—LIBRARY

During the year 103 books (192 volumes) and 103 Journals were added to the Library. Of the books 25 were presented, 75 were purchased and three were obtained by exchange and of the Journals 15 were presented, 2 were purchased and 86 were obtained by exchange. On the 31st December, 1942 the Library contained 9055 volumes as compared with 8863 volumes of the previous year. Besides these 9 paper manuscripts were also acquired by purchase out of the Library Fund.

V.—SEARCH FOR MANUSCRIPTS

The Mithila Pandit continued his search of Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts under the supervision of Dr. Banerji-Sastri from January 1942 to January 1943 in the districts of Purnea, Monghyr and Muzaffarpur. During the period under review he noticed 1256 manuscripts.

Palm-leaf manuscripts of Adbhutasāgara, Śuddhichintāmaṇi, Dvaitanirṇaya and Mahādānanirṇaya and paper manuscripts of Gītagovinda-ṭikā and Kīrti-latā were purchased for the Society's Library.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI

28th February, 1943. *Honorary General Secretary.*

BIHAR & ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

Statement of Accounts from 1st April, 1942 to 28th February, 1943.

A. The actuals for 1941-42 showed a closing balance of Rs. 529-6-3 with the amount in Public account, *viz.*, Rs. 4,908-6-4 the total balance to the credit of the Society was Rs. 5,437-12-7 at the end of 1941-42.

B. As regards the actuals up to the 28th February 1943 the current account closing balance was Rs. 1,217-2-11. To this must be added the amount in the Public account, *viz.*, Rs. 4,989-8-3 which gives a total of Rs. 6,206-11-2.

C. The chief sources of income are the Government grant, subscriptions, sale proceeds of the Society's Journal and interest on the amount in the Public account. The subscriptions realised up to February, 1943 amounted to Rs. 764, up to the 28th February, 1942 the realised amount was Rs. 1,101-10-0 The estimate for the whole financial year was Rs. 900.

Our realization from the sale-proceeds of published literature amounted to Rs. 1,077 up to the end of February 1943. For the same period last year, the amount was Rs. 218-10-0. Interest on Public account for the year was Rs. 81-1-11.

30th March, 1943.

S. BAHADUR,
Honorary Treasurer.

Actuals up to February 28, 1943

INCOME

	Actuls.			Revised Budget		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Subscription ..	764	0	0	900	0	0
Sale of Journal ..	992	4	0	700	0	0
Miscellaneous ..	126	0	0	..		
Postage Recovered ..	5	1	0	..		
Sale of Cat. of Mithila Mss.	84	12	0	..		
Government Grant ..	5,133	0	0	5,133	0	0
Interest on P/A ..	81	1	11	..		
Opening Balance.—						
Hathwa Fund ..	1730		6	173	0	6
Darbhangha Fund ..	279	14	3	279	14	3
Mayurbhanj Fund ..	210	14	9½	210	14	9½
Tibetan Expedition..	503	9	9	503	9	9
General Balance ..	4,270	5	3½	4,270	5	3½
GRAND TOTAL ..	12,623	15	6	12,170	12	7

S. BAHADUR

14th March, 1943.

Honorary Treasurer.

Actuals up to February 28, 1943**EXPENDITURE**

		Actuals.			Revised Budget		
		Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Establishment	..	1,191	10	10	1,256	0	0
Mithila Pandit	..	1,603	13	0	1,780	3	0
Printing Charges	..	2,199	6	3	2,500	0	0
Postage	..	200	12	6	400	0	0
Stationery	..	42	6	0	90	0	0
Library	..	720	15	9	1,113	4	0
Electrical Charges..		63	9	0	100	0	0
Miscellaneous	..	394	11	0	350	0	0
Furniture	..	0	0	0	50	0	0
TOTAL	..	6,417	4	4	7,639	7	0
CLOSING BALANCE		6,206	11	2	4,531	5	7
GRAND TOTAL	..	12,623	15	6	12,170	19	7

Details of Closing Balance on 28th February, 1943.

			Rs.	A.	P.
Hathwa Fund	..	..	173	0	6
Darbhangha Fund	..	..	364	10	3
Mayurbhanj Fund	..	..	210	14	9½
General Balance	..	..	4,954	7	10½
Tibetan Expedition	..	..	503	9	9
TOTAL	..	..	6,206	11	2

S. BAHADUR

30th March, 1943.

Honorary Treasurer.

Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Physics Lecture Theatre, Science College, Patna on Wednesday, the 7th April, 1943, at 6-15 p. m.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in the Physic's Lecture Theatre, Science College, Patna on Wednesday the 7th April, 1943, at 6-15 p. m. His Excellency Sir Thomas Rutherford, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S., President of the Society, presided.

The following business was transacted :—

1. The President declared the meeting open.

2. On a motion by Khan Bahadur Saiyid Muhammad Ismail the following members were elected office-bearers and members of the Council of the Society for the year 1943-44 :—

President—His Excellency Sir Thomas Rutherford,
K. C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir
Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

Secretary—Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M. B. E., M. A.,
D. Phil.

Treasurer—Sham Bahadur Esq., M. B. E., Barrister-
at-Law.

Librarian—Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala, M. A.

Editorial Board—The Hon'ble the Chief Justice

Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.
Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M. B. E.,
M. A., D. Phil.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian, who are ex-officio members).

The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiy'd Fazl Ali, Kt.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. P. Varma.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Bhuvareshwar Prashad Sinha.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. S. Sullivan, S. J.

R. E. Russell, Esq., C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D. Litt.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M. A., D. Phil.

Khan Bahadur Saiyid Muhammad Ismail.

3. The Honorary Secretary and Honorary Treasurer presented the Annual Report and the Annual Statement of Accounts which were adopted.

4. The Vice-President reviewed the year's work of the Society.

5. The President invited P. C. Manuk, Esq., to address the meeting.

6. A lecture was delivered by P. C. Manuk Esq., on "Indian Painting" illustrated with lantern slides.

7. The President proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

8. Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair.

9. The President declared the meeting closed.

APPENDIX

Bhojpuri Village Songs

Collected from Kayasth Households

IN

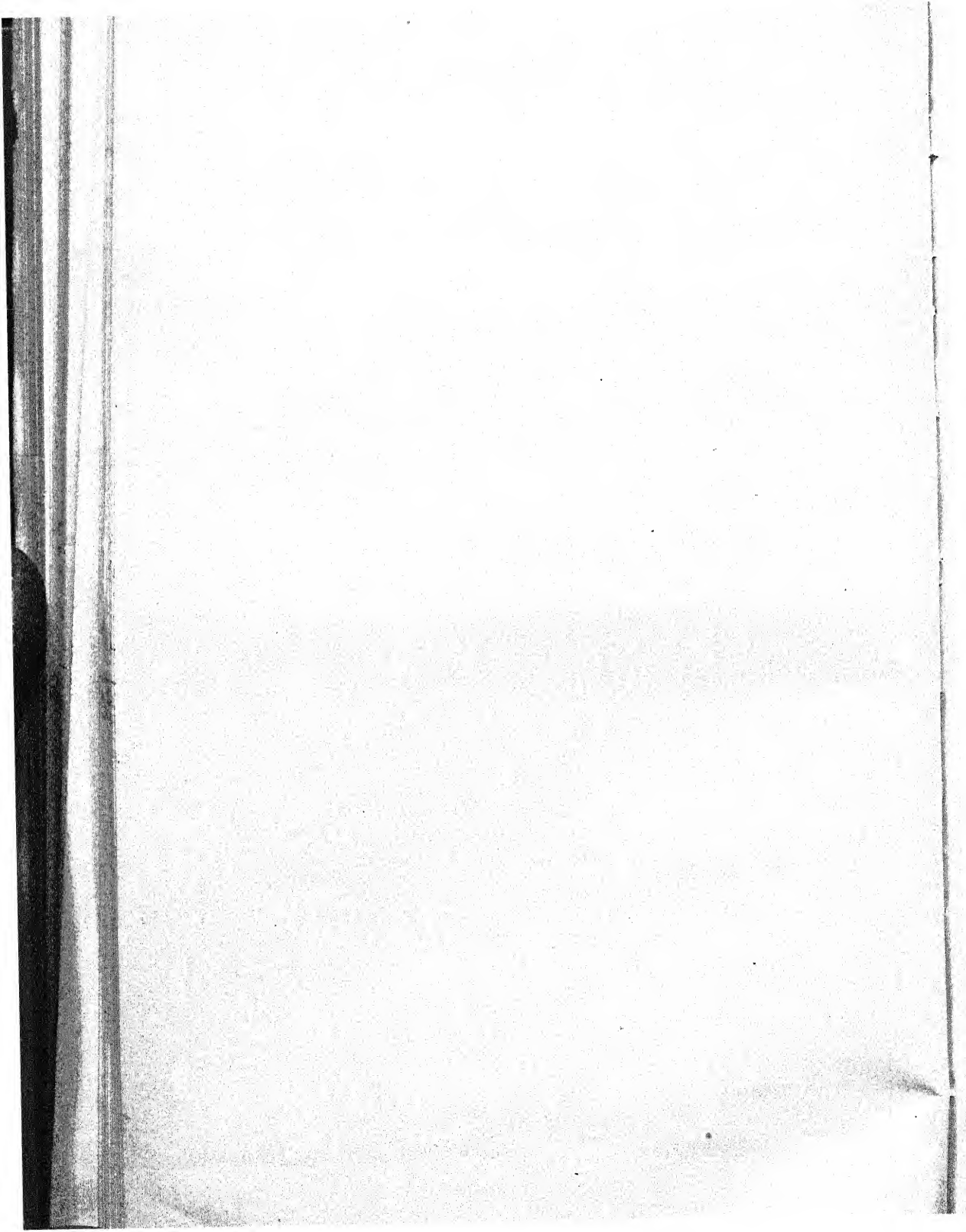
Shahabad District, Bihar, 1940-41.

BY

W. G. ARCHER, I. C. S.

AND

SANKTA PRASAD.



नन्द बाबा एक बगीया लगावेले कृष्ण ही राखे रखवार ए ।
 बारी समय राधा दही बेचे चलेली कृष्ण जी भईले वटवार ए ।
 दही मोरा खईले मटुक सिर फोरेले आंचर धरी बीलमाई ए ।
 आंचर झारी रत्न मोरा देखेले हमसे कईले बराजोरी ए ।
 बोरहन देवे चलेली राधा गोआलीनी यशोदा आज्ञनवा ठाढ़ ए ।
 बरीज यशोदा हो आपन कन्हैया बन बैठी भैले वटवार ए ।
 दही मोरा खईले मटुक सिर फोड़ले आंचर धरी बीलमाई ए ।
 अंगीया खोल रत्न मोरा देखले बांधल केस अझुराई ए ।
 जनी राधा रोवहु जनी राधा धोवहु जनी चीत करु वैराग ए ।
 सांझ के बेरीया कृष्ण घरे अईहें मारव बांधी दुआर ए ।
 खेली खुनीय कृष्ण माता भीरी अईले बैठेले माता के गोद ए ।
 मै तो से पुछीला कृष्ण दुलरुआ काहे बन भैल वटवार ए ।
 बोरहन देवे अइली राधा गोआलिन कृष्ण भैले वटवार ए ।
 जो हम माता हो राधा के छुअली गोर से करीया होई जाई ए ।
 जो हम राधा के नख भरी छुअली बुढ़ से जुआन होई जाई ए ।

एक रिखिया के चारि बिटीउआ चारी ही बाड़ी कुंआरी ए ।
 चारो के ब्याहबी एक मड़उआ एक ही लग्न सोचाई ए ।
 बड़की के ब्याहब लंका के राजा संझीली गोपिय में का कान्ह ए ।
 संझीली के ब्याहबी इशर महादेव छोटकी ब्याहबी श्रीराम ए ।
 लंका के राजा के दोल ढमाका और गोपिय में के कान्ह ए ।
 इशर महादेव के डमरु बाजेला मुरली बजावेले श्रीराम ए ।
 कहँवा उतारों में लंका के राजा औरी गोपिय में का कान्ह ए ।
 कहँवा उतारों में इशर महादेव कहँवा उतारों श्रीराम ए ।
 कुर खेत उतारबों में लंका के राजा औरी गोपिय में का कान्ह ए ।
 द्वारे उतरबों में इशर महादेव मड़वा उतारों श्रीराम ए ।

क्या देइ समद्वी लंका के राजा, और गोपिय में के कान्ह ए ।
 क्या देइ समद्वी इशर महादेव क्या देइ समदों श्री राम ए ।
 अनधन देवों रे लंका के राजा ओरी गोपिय में के कान्ह ए ।
 भंगिया धतुरवा रे इशर महादेव धिअवा देवी श्री राम ए ॥

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भइ आंत भीर जनकजी के आंगन सखि सब मंगल गाई ए ।
 सीता के हाथ कंगन भल शोभेला गांठ ही गांठ संवारी ए ॥
 छुटत राम छुटत नहिं कंगन सखि सब ताल बजाइ ए ।
 जो तोसे राम छुटत नहिं कंगन हारि जाहु महतारी ए ॥
 सब सखिया देत राम के गारी जुटी आइ रनिवास ए ।
 गायी के गोबर अंगना लिपाइला गजमोती चौका पुराइ ए ।
 कंचन कलश पुरहथ ले धराइला मानीक दीप बराइ ए ।
 राम सीता दुनो चौका बैठेले सखि सब मंगल गाइ ए ॥
 हृषि उठे रबिकुल मनि नन्दन मालिन मउरी ले आइ ए ॥
 धन्य-धन्य सीता राउर भाग्य राम अइसन बर पाइ ए ।
 भइले व्याह परेला सिर सेन्दुर देव सब जै जै बोले ए ॥

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लिखि चिट्ठीया ए नारद मुनि भेजेले, विश्वामित्र पठाइ ए ॥
 जाइ बरात जनकपुर पहुँचेला जाजीम भारि बिछाइ ए ॥
 गायी के गोबर अंगना लिपाइला, मानिक दीप बराइ ए ॥
 कंचन कलशा पुरहथ ले धराइला गज मोती चौका पुराइ ए ॥
 राम सीता दोनो पास खेलतु हैं जीत लिये अवधबिहारी ए ॥
 भइले व्याह परेला सिर सेन्दुर नवलाख मांगे दहेज ए ॥
 सीता व्याहि राम घर अइलन दशरथ दर्ब लुटाई ए ॥
 जो एही मंगल गाइ सुनाइ सो बैकुंठे जाई ए ॥

बड़ा रे प्राते जनइया रीखे उठले, सीता किचड़वही ठाढ़ ए ॥
 बारी कुमारी मोरी चेठी सीता देखे, पुजबा के करहु उपाय ए ॥
 जबले जनक रीखे सीता समुझावेले, सीता उठे झटकारी ए ॥
 धनुष उठाइ किवाड़ ओठघवली, लिपेली धर्म द्वार ए ॥
 करि स्नान जनइया रीखे अइलन, धनुषा देखे मन लायी ए ॥
 जे मोरा भाइ धनुष भला तोड़ी हें, वोकरे से करबी ब्याह ए ॥
 देश ही देश बाबा चिट्ठीया भेजावेले, आबहु भूप सब लोग ए ॥
 हमरि घरे बाड़ी सीता कुंआरी, राखहु प्रण हमारी ए ॥
 नेवता पावत भूप सब आवेले, विहँसि उठेले परशुराम ए ॥
 हमरि बरली सीता केरे ब्याहेला, मारबी धनुष चढ़ाइ ए ॥
 छोटी मुठी सीता हो आदित मनावेली, आदित शरण तोहार ए ॥
 क्या पति राखेले हित कुटुम्ब, क्या पति राखे भगवान ए ॥

पातर राम धनुष बड़ा भारी,

उठत बिलम्ब जनि होइ ए ।

बायें हाथ रामचन्द्र धनुष उठावेले, धनुष भये नवखण्ड ए ॥
 पहिल बाण पताल में खिलेला, दुसरे गिरे मजधार ए ॥
 तीसर बाण यमुन दह गिरेला, मुखी गिरे परशुराम ए ॥

आनन्द हो भरत आनन्द शत्रुघ्न, कोयल आनन्दे आम डाढ़ ए ॥
 रीखे घरे आनन्देली बारी सीता देखे, अंचवत आनन्दे श्रीराम ए ॥
 हाथी साजीला घोड़ा साजीला, साजीला तमुआ कनात ए ॥
 रामजी के घोड़वा भलीभांति साजीला, मोतियन लगली लहास ए ॥
 कर जोरि बिनवेली बारी सीता देखे, बाबा से मिनती हमार ए ॥
 अति बरिअतिया साजीला राजा दशरथ, पानी बिनु हानि जनि होइ ए ॥
 हर्ष के बोलेले राजा जनकजी, सुन सीता बचन हमार ए ॥

आनि परात घीव पांख धोइवी , जै जै होइहें हमार ए ॥
 गायी के गोवर अंगना लिपाइला , गजमोती चौका पुराई ए ॥
 सुवरण कलशा पुरहथ ले धराइला , मानीक दीप बराइ ए ॥
 सीता ही राम चौक चढ़ि बैठेले , जनक दिहले कन्या दान ए ॥
 तीन छौंके मंडवा बीच परी गइले , ब्राह्मण करुना विचार ए ॥
 दिन दश गइले सीता दुख पइहें , राम जइहें बनवास ए ॥
 भइले व्याह चले राम कोहवर , जै जै बोले सब लोग ए ॥
 सीता ही राम कोहवर बैठेले , जनक दहेजवा के योग्य ए ॥
 दिहले रीखे गाय दिहले रीखे भैंस , बारहो वरध धेनु गायी ए ॥
 हीरा मोती रीखे देवहीं ना पवले , राम बोलेले दहेज थोर ए ॥
 मुंहवा रुमाल देई बोलेले जनइया रीखे , सुनि राम वचन हमार ए ॥
 रउरा चन्दन गाछ हमही बेइली गाछ , रउरी बचनिया के आश ए ॥

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पांच सुहागिनी मिलि परीछन चलली , चौमुख दिअरा बराइ ए ॥
 पांच सुहागिनी मिलि चुमवन चलली , गौरी गनेश मनाइ ए ॥
 पांच सुहागिनी मिलि खीर खिआवेले , गावत मंगल गान ए ॥
 पांच सुहागिनी मिलि अबटन लगावेली , रामहि सीता बैठाइ ए ॥
 पांच सुहागिनी मिलि भूषण पहिनावेली , राम के रूप निहारि ए ॥
 पांच सुहागिनी मिलि करेली ठठोली , काँ रउरा बाप के नाम ए ॥
 हंसि सब सखिया कहत सब सखिया से , कैसे कहसु पीता के नाम ए ॥
 शृंगी ऋषी जी के खीर खिआवले , तब ही भइले चारु भाइ ए ॥
 माता जे उनकर बड़ा रंग रसिया , पिता के कौन प्रमाण ए ॥
 बहिनी जे इनकर देव संग रसली , एही से कहत लजासु ए ॥
 इतना बचन सुनि लक्ष्मण विहँसेले , रउरे अइसन मोरी माइ ए ॥
 बहिनी के लक्षण सब रउरा में पाइला , रउरे अइसन स्वभाव ए ॥
 पृथ्वी से जब सीता जन्मेली , पिता जनक कैसे होय ए ॥

नगर कोशलपुर बधाव बाजेला, घर-घर मंगलाचारि ए ॥
जनक ऋषी घरे बारी सीता, हम घरे राम कुंआर ए ॥
ब्राह्मण दूबे ब्राह्मण चौबे, ब्राह्मण परेला हंकार ए ॥
मन्थ देखि देखि लग्न सोचावहु, राम तिलक लिलार ए ॥
गाथी के गोवर अंगना लिपाइला, गज मोती चौका पुराइ ए ॥
सुवरन कलशा पुरहथ ले धराइला, मानीक दीप बराइ ए ॥
परीछे बाहर भइली सासु मदागिनी, राम रूप देखि लोभाय ए ॥

बंसवा कटावन चले राजा दशरथ, अंगुरी गढ़ेला खपचान ए ॥
अंगुरी के दर्दे मरेले राजा दशरथ, कैकई के परेला हंकार ए ॥
आवहु कैकई पलंग चढ़ि बैठहु, दुख सुख कह समुझाई ए ॥
कौन-कौन दुख तोहरा ए कैकई, से दुख कह समुझाई ए ॥
बोलिया त हम बोली राजा दशरथ, जऊं रउरा करहु विचार ए ॥
राम लक्ष्मण दुनो बन के अहेरिया, भरत के तिलक लिलार ए ॥
बोलिया त तुहु बोललु हो कैकई, सालेला कलेजवा हमार ए ॥
राम लक्ष्मण दुनो मोरा दुलकआ, सेकरा के कैसे बनवास ए ॥
इतना बचन जब सुने राजा रामचन्द्र, लील घोड़ भइले असवार ए ॥
एक बने गइले दूसर बने गइले, लक्ष्मण के लगली प्यास ए ॥
बन में से निकलेले ऋषिवालमीकि, हमरो मइइया विश्राम ए ॥

ऊँच सिंहासन बैठि माता भिनती करे, सुनहु दशरथ राजा ए ॥
मोर धिया भइली ब्याहन योग्य, न्योता सकल भेजाऊ ए ॥
लेहुना बरीआ रे हाथ के सुपरिया, देशवा न्योती सब लोग ए ॥
गया में न्योतवी गया गजाधर, काशी न्योती विश्वनाथ ए ॥
आरखंड भोला नाथ न्योतवी, न्योतवी वीर हनुमान ए ॥

गया से अइलन गया गजाधर, काशी से अइलन विश्वनाथ ए ॥
 भारखंड से भोलानाथ जी अइलन, अइलन बीर हनुमान ए ॥
 गायी के गोबर अंगना लिपाइब, गजमोती चौका पुराई ए ॥
 चौकन बैठेले राजा रामचन्द्र, जौरे सीता देई रानी ए ॥
 भइले ब्याह परेला सिर सेन्दुर, देव सब दिहो ना आशीश ए ॥
 जुग जुग जिअसु राजा रामचन्द्र, सीता के बाढ़ो अहिवात ए ॥

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अवध नगरिया बाजन एक बाजेला, घर घर मंगल चारि ए ॥
 से सुन बाबा हो मनही आनन्देले, धिया भइली ब्याहन योग्य ए ॥
 से सुन माई हो मन ही आनन्देली, बरिया के परेला हंकार ए ॥
 लेहुना बरिया रे हाथ के सुपरिया, नेवत सकल संसार ए ॥
 अएइन न्योतहु गोएइन न्योतहु, न्योतहु आदित गणेश ए ॥
 तैतीस कोटि देवत सब न्योतहु, न्योतहु आदित गणेश ए ॥
 ओयइन अइले गोएइन अइले, अइलन आदित गणेश ए ॥
 तैतीस कोटि देवता सब अइलन, अइलन आदित गणेश ए ॥
 बन वृन्दा केरा बंसवा मंगाइला, ताही बांसे छावाइला रुक्मीणी
 के माड़ो, चन्दन लगेला किवाड़ ए ॥

बेतवा सघन से छाइला माड़ो, उपरा डोलेला हंस मोर ए ॥
 जब शिशुपाल दुअरवनी अइले, माड़ो देखि सुर्खायी ए ॥
 चेत से वेचेत भइले, माथे धइले ठाढ़ भइले ए ॥

काहे लागी माइ हो माघ नहइल, काहे लागी कइलू अतवार ए ॥
 काहे लागी माइ कठिन व्रत कइल, आखीर मिलले शिशुपाल ए ॥
 घर लागी बेटी हो माघ नहइली, बर लागी कइली अतवार ए ॥
 तोहरा लागी बेटी हो कठिन व्रत कइली, तोहरो लिखल
 शिशुपाल ए ॥

जो यह मंगल गाइ सुनाइ, सो वैकुण्ठे जाइ ॥

साजीला राम साजीला भइया लक्ष्मण, साजीला भरत भुआज ए ।
 आरे साजि बरात चले राजा दशरथ, निकली पड़ेला रनिवास ए ।
 वेदिया बैठल राजा दशरथ बोलेले, सुनु रानी वचन हमार ए ।
 आरे अपनी दयादीनी काहे ना बुलवल, केइ परीछे श्रीराम ए ।
 नउआ जे पेठवेलो बरिया जे पेठवेतो, औरी ब्राह्मण पुत्र ए ।
 हमरी दयादीनी नउजी वलु आवसु, हमही परीछो श्रीराम ए ।
 कौन सखि पहिरेली इअरी से पिअरी, कौन सखि दखिन रंग सारि ए ।
 कौन सखि पहिरेली राम के रूमलिया, उहे परीछे श्रीराम ए ।
 पहिरू कैकइया रानी इअरी से पिअरी, सुमित्रा दखिन रंग चीर ए ।
 पहिरू कौशल्या रानी राम के रूमलिया, उहे परीछे श्रीराम ए ।

बरहो बरीसवा के भइल ए बेटी, बाबा आगे मिनती हमार ए ।
 हमरो ब्याहवा ए बाबा अवधपुर करीह, जहां बसे रामजी कुंआर ए ।
 तोहरो ब्याहवा ए बेटी, ओही रे अवधपुर, दशरथ योग्य हम नाहिं ए ।
 पांव पखरीह बाबा तिलक चढ़इह, हमही मनाइब श्रीराम ए ।
 दुअरा जे आवत बाबा पांव पखरीह, सोने के परात मंगाइ ए ।
 कोहवर आवत बाबा धिया देई धलीह, हमही मनाइबी श्रीराम ए ।
 मचिया बैठल उजे अम्मा आनन्देत्तो, धन्य-धन्य बुद्धि तोहार ए ।
 अपने उकतिया ए बेटी अत बुद्धि कइल, धन्य-धन्य जन्म तोहार ए
 धन्य-धन्य कोखिया हमार ए ।

सभवा बैठल उजे बाबा आनन्देले, धन्य-धन्य बुद्धि तोहार ए ।

साजी बरात चले राजा दशरथ, जाइ जनकपुर ठाढ़ ए ।
 आरे झारी पिताम्बर एक डासही दिहीला, बैठी नृपति सब लोग ए ।
 आरे कौन राम कौन हवें लक्ष्मण, कौन भरत भुआल ए ।

सांबर राम गोर हवें लक्ष्मण , गोर हवें भरत भुआल ए ।
 अपना भरोखा सीता आदीत मनावेली , आदित शरण तोहार ए ।
 एही नृपतिन के मोहि दिखावहु , कौन बरण श्रीराम ए ।
 जेकरा ही गले बैजन्त्री के माला , उहे बर हवे श्रीराम ए ।
 हाथे मुदर काने कुंडल भलकेला , मथवा मनोहर पाग ए ।
 जैसन बजार के मोती भलकेला , वैसे भलके श्रीराम ए ।

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कुन्डीलपुर एक नगर बसतु हैं, भीखम राजा अनुराग ए ।
 माइ चन्द्रावती मनही धुमइली, धिया भइली व्याहनयोग्य ए ।
 घरी घरी ब्राह्मण पोथिया विचारेले , क्षण क्षण परेला हंकार ए ।
 इ रुक्मीणी शिशुपाल व्याहवी, इ बर रुक्मीणी योग्य ए ।
 इतना बचन रुक्मीणी सुनही न पचली, रुक्मीणी चढ़ेली अंदारी ए ।
 काहे के अम्मा हो गंगा नहइली , काहे के कइली अतवार ए ।
 काहे के हमहु तुलसी दीप बारीला, आखीर मिलेला शिशुपाल ए ।
 जब बरिअतिया द्वारन्ही अइले , माता जी चढ़ेली अंदारी ए ।
 उठहु रुक्मीणी हरदी धोआवहु , शिशुपाल द्वारन्ही ठाढ़ ए ।
 तोरा लेखे अम्मा शिशुपाल दुलरुआ, मोरा लेखे अहीर ग्वाल ए ।
 मोरा पिछुअरवा हो विप्र गुसाईं, विप्र वेगही चलि आऊ ए ।
 एकली चिट्ठीया पहुंचाव मोरा विप्र हो , जहां बसे कृष्ण कुमार ए ।
 छोटे मुटे गछिया चन्दन जुड़ छहिया, तहां कृष्ण रचेले धमार ए ।
 कहँवा के तुहु विप्र गुसाईं , कहँवा ही करीला पयान ए ।
 कौन रानी सुवरन चिट्ठी लिखेली , केकरा ही तिलक लिलार ए ।
 कुन्डीलपुर के मैं विप्र गुसाईं , मथुरा में करीला पयान ए ।
 रानी रुक्मीणी मोहि लिखी पेठावेली, कृष्ण के तिलक लिलार ए ।
 जब श्रीकृष्ण पवन रथ जोतेले , बाजन बाजेला अनेक ए ।
 माता पिता सब मिलन चलेले , श्रीकृष्ण के आरती उतारिए ।
 जब श्रीकृष्ण मढ़उन अइले , नव लाख मांगे दहेज ए ।

धीव केरा भंडा अंगन देइ पटकेली, शत्रु के धिया जनि होइ ए ।
जो रे पुरुष मोरा सभवाही बैठेले, केहु उत्तर नहि देइ ए ।
सो रे पुरुष मोरा नइ नइ बिनवेले, रूक्मीणी दासी तुम्हार ए ।

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के मोरा रामजी के पगिया रंगावेला, के रे साजेला बरियात ए ।
के मोरा रामजी के आरती उतारेला, के रे साजेला बरियात ए ।
इतियन पीतियन पगिया रंगावेले, बाबा साजेला बरियात ए ।
माता कौशल्या रानी आरती उतारेली, भैया साजेला बरियात ए ।
साजी बरात चले राजा दशरथ, बांये दहिन बोले काग ए ।
उठहु लक्ष्मण पोथिया विचारहु, कौन सगुन बोले काग ए ॥
दान भला मिलीहें दहेज भला मिली हैं, सीता मिली हैं समतुल ए ।
रामजीके पोथिया अयोध्यामें छुटेला, ओही लागी बोलेला काग ए ॥
जो एही मंगल गाइ सुनावेला, सो बैकुण्ठ ही जाइ ए ॥

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सब देवतन मिलि चिट्टीया जे लिखेले, देहु देवकी जी के हाथ ए ॥
कौन पुत्र मोरा फूल पहुँचइहे, कौन करीहे मोरा मान ए ॥
इतना बचन कृष्ण सुनही ना पावेले हो, नागे द्वारे भइले ठाढ़ ए ॥
नाग सोबेले नागिनी बेनिया डोलावेली, कृष्ण द्वारे भइले ठाढ़ ए ॥
कौन अभागिनी के पुत्र हव, काहे लागी अइल पताल ए ॥
उठिहे नगवा तुम्हे भझी जइहें, तुहु कृष्ण जइब मुर्छाइ ए ।
इतना बचन कृष्ण सुनहीना पावेले, वन पैठि खरइ कटाइ ए ॥
खरइ कटवले कृष्ण नाग वलु नाथेले, नागपीठी भइले असवार ए ।
रोवेली नागिनी लट धुनि धुनि, टपकी टपकी चुबे तोर ए ।
गुण अवगुण कृष्ण सब माफ करहु, सेन्दुर बकसु हमार ए ॥
चुप होखु नागिनी जनि रोयी मरहु, जनि रे नयनवा ढारे तोर ए ॥
गोखुला क फुलवा हो मथुरा पहुँचाइबी, तोर नाग देबो लौटाइ ए ॥

आजु जनकपुर सोर ए सखि, राम ब्याहन आइ ए ॥
 अरे सखि सुनीला सीता बर छोट, चलहु देखि आइ ए ॥
 एक ओरी बैठेले राम लक्ष्मण, एक ओरि बैठे परशुराम ए ॥
 अरे सखि एक ओरी बैठे सीता सुन्दरि, धर्म र पुकारि ए ॥
 राम कहेले सीता हम ब्याहबी, लक्ष्मण कहेले सीता मोरी ए ॥
 अरे सखि परशुराम कहेले सीता मोरी, तुहे कैसे ब्याहबी ए ॥
 अस्सी मन के लोह ए सखि, ओकर धनुष गढाइ ए ॥
 आरे सखि जो यह धनुष अलगाइ, सेही रे सीता ब्याही ए ॥
 राम के हाथ धनुष भला शोभेला, औरी मुखवा भरि दात ए ॥
 अरे सखि हंसि राम धनुष उठवले, करेले नवखंड ए ॥
 भइले ब्याह परेला सिर सेन्दुर, जै बोले सब लोग ए ॥
 अरे सखि परशुराम गिरे मुर्झायी, त बन के सिधारिए ॥
 जो यही मंगल गाइ गाइ सुनायो, सो बैकुण्ठ ही जाइ सदा सुख पाइ ए ॥

रामजी के ब्याह जनकपुर लागल, भलि भांति साजु बरियात ए ॥
 हाथी साजीला घोड़ा साजीला, साजीला भरत भुआल ए ॥
 रामजी के घोड़ा भली भांति साजीला, हिरा मोती लागल लहास ए ॥
 जाइ बरात जनकपुर उतरे, लोग तमाशा देखे आइ ए ॥
 केहु देखे ठाढ़ केहु देखे निहुरल, केहु देखे शिर नवाइ ए ॥
 भाड़ा रे भरोखे चढ़ि सीता निरखेली, कौन बरण श्री राम ए ॥
 कौन हवें राजा कौन राजा दशरथ, कौन बरण श्री राम ए ॥
 गोर हवें राजा गोरे राजा दशरथ, श्याम बरण श्री राम ए ॥
 भइले ब्याह परेला सिर सेन्दुर, देव लोग दिहले आशीश ए ॥
 जिअसु राम जिअसु मोरी सीता, भोगसु अयोध्या के राज ए ॥

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मारि पटोर रघुनाथ पेठावेले, तागही पाट बरीआत ए ॥
 उहे पहिर कन्या चौका बैठेली, एही रे कन्या केरा रूप ए ॥
 सूर्य धाहेले ज्योति जे धाहेला, धाहेला सूर्य विमान ए ॥
 बाबा के अंगना बघाव जे बाजेला, अम्मा के हृदया जुड़ाइ ए ॥
 गया में न्योतिला गया गजाधर, काशी न्योतों विश्वनाथ ए ॥
 प्रयाग में न्योतीला इहो बेनीमाधो, उड़ीसा न्योतों जगरनाथ ए ॥
 धरती में न्योतीला सुरसरी गंगा, ब्रह्माण्ड न्योतों नर लोग ए ॥
 गया से अइलन गया गजाधर, काशी से अइलन विश्वनाथ ए ॥
 प्रयाग से आवेले इहे बेनी माधव, उड़ीसा से अइले जगरनाथ ए ॥
 सब देवता मिलि आंगन आवेले, अम्मा के हृदया जुड़ाइ ए ॥
 धन्य धन्य ए बेटी तोहरो जन्म भइले, देव मुनि लिहले बसेइ ए ॥

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मिलहु सखिया सलेहर, मिलि जुलि चलहु ए ।
 आइ जनक छवि देखहु मन पछताइ ए ।
 कौन बरण राम आये कौन लक्ष्मण भाई ए ।
 काहे कारण सखि आये जनकपुर, केइ संग ले आइ ए ।
 श्याम वरण राम आये गोर लक्ष्मण भाई ए ।
 धनुष यज्ञ लागि आये जनकपुर, मुनिन संग ले आइ ए ।
 तेहि समय परशुराम आये, क्रोध बरण ले आइ ए ।
 कहु जनक के पिनाक तोड़ा, मारवि धनुष चढ़ाइ ए ।
 जनक उठि कर जोरि के जी, मुनि चरण सिर नाइ ए ।
 बोल सकत कुछ नाहीं त मन पछताइ ए ।
 लखन उठे रिसियाइ के मुनि धनुष तोड़े रघुराई ए ।
 बहुत दिन के पुरान धनुषा छुअतही दुटिजाइ ए ।
 राम शैन लखन बरजे मुनि चरण सिरनाइ ए ।
 कमा करहु अपराध मुनि अब, करुं चरण सेवकाइ ए ।
 इतना मुनी परशुराम बोले रिसियाइ ए ।

जो तु हव रघुवंश कुल मणि नाम है श्री राम ए ।
 तोड़ो सरासन धनुष रघुबर मन सन्देह मिटाइ ए ।
 आठ ही काठ नव खम्भ त नयन भरिलाइ ए ।
 धइलन क्षत्री के रूप धनुष धरि तोड़ी ए ।
 गाइ के गोबर अंगना लिपाइला, गज मोती चौका पुराइ ए ।
 कनक कलशा में नीर गंगा जल, मानिक दीप बराइ ए ।
 राम सीता चौक बैठे सखिन मंगल गाइ ए ।
 ब्याह के जे उछाह बहुत, से देवलोक से फुल भरि रही ।
 रामनन्दी चरण बन्दी मुनि चरण सिरनाइ ए ।
 तुलसी दास बनाइ मंगल, सखिन गाइ सुनाइ ए ।

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अरे अरे बाबा अवधपुर जइहें राजा नृपति के द्वार ए,
 अरे खेलत होइहें अवधपुर के गलिया, हाथ गुलाल सुख पान ए ।
 छोटही देखि जनि भूलीह ए बाबा, छोट ही कन्त कुंआर ए ।
 चारों भैया में राम बड़ हउअन, उहे हवे कन्त हमार ए ।
 ऊचहि कोठा उठाव मोर बाबा ए, ठाढ़े समासु हाथी घोड़ा ए ।
 जो प्रभु अइहन हमारे द्वारे, मिनती करबी कर जोरि ए ।
 सरगुन से गोबरा मंगइह मोरा बाबा हो, गजमोती चौकापुराइ ए ।
 सुवरन कलशा पुरहथ ले धराइबी, मानिक दीप बराइ ए ।
 ओही त्रिवेनी के निर्मल पानी, अच्छे रे वृक्षवा के छांइ ए ।
 सरगुन से डोलिया मंगाव मोर बाबा हो, कर दीह बिदाइ हमार ए ।
 तुलसी दास छुटेला मोर नैहर, सब को से भेंट अँकवार ए ।

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लाल चरण रघुराई त रोखे घर धूम भयी,
 राम के संग सीता शोभे दशरथ आनन्द भये,
 सीता के पहिरन चीर पिताम्बर ओढ़ लिये,

राम के संग सीता शोभे दशरथ आनन्द भये,
 चलत २ डगमगिया घुघुर लर बाजी रही, घुघुर लर बाजी रही ॥
 नयी नयी चलहु जनक धिया, तब राम भंवर घुमी,
 सात भवर राम घुमेले तो लागी गइले सात वड़िया हो,
 आहो बर सुन्दर अंगूठ जनि धरो,
 अंगूठ धइले अङ्ग पसीज गइले भीजे चुनरी,
 राम सुन्दर दोनों बाहु तबहुँ राम कांधे लिये,
 मंडप हमरो अंजोर त मानिक दीप बरी,
 चन्द्रबदन मुख कमला सुन्दरी राम कैसे देखी,
 विजुली चमाचम चमकी सुन्दरी राम आइसे देखी ॥
 बांस ही के उजे वेनिया तो वेनिया में लावा भरी,
 लावा न मेरव सहोदर अग्नि परोस दिये ।
 सोने के सोहगइली त सेन्दुर भर लिये
 सेन्दुर बांधहु नारायण मंडप अनुप किये ।
 जो यही मंगल गावेला गाथी सुनावेला,
 सो बैकुंठे ही जाई सदा फल पावेला ॥

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माई जे नित उठि धिअवा संवारेली, नेपुर शब्द संवार ए ।
 ई धिअवा शिशुपाल ब्याहबी, न्योतबी कुल परिवार ए ।
 जब शिशुपाल गोषड़वनी अइले, भटवा लिहल बरमाइ ए ।
 मैं बलि जाऊं ओही राजा के गलिया, हमें योग मड़वा छवाइ ए ।
 जब शिशुपाल दुअरवन अइले, चेरिया कलश लेले ठाढ़ ए ।
 छोटे मुटे रनिया रे चढ़ली अटरिया, कुवर पेवार ले पान ए ।
 कंहवा ही के शिशुपाल दुलरुआ, कंहवा ही ब्याहन जाइ ए ।
 बाबा मोर चौरासी के बासी, पितीया करेले दरबार ए ।
 माइ मदागिनी सवे गुण आगरी, उन्हीं के साजल बरात ए ।

जब शिशुपाल मड़उन अइले, अम्मा जे चढ़ली अटारी ए ।
 उठहु रूक्मीणी पहिर पटोरवा, शिशुपाल मड़उन ठाढ़ ए ।
 तोरा लेखे अम्मा शिशुपाल दुलरूआ, मोरा लेखे अहीर ग्वाल ए ।
 काहे के अम्मा हो माघ नहइलौं, काहे के कइलो एतवार ए ।
 काहे के अम्मा हो कठिन व्रत कइली, आखीर मिलले शिशुपाल ए ।
 मोरा पिछुअरवा हो विप्र गुसइयां, विप्र वेगही चलि आव ए ।
 देवो मैं विप्र हो सोने के जनेउआ, एकली चिट्ठीया पहुँचाव ए ।
 छोटे मोटे गछिआ कदम जुड़ छंहिया, तहां कृष्ण रचले धमार ए ।
 जाइ के विप्र जी पांती पसारले, कृष्णजी लिहले उठाई ए ।
 कंहवा ही के तुहु विप्र गोसइया, कंहवा ही करेल पयान ए ।
 कौन रनिया सुवरन चिट्ठी भेजेली, केकरा ही तीलक लिलार ए ।
 कुन्टीलपुर के मैं विप्र गोसइयां, मथुरा के करीला पयान ए ।
 रानी रूक्मीणी मोहि लिखि पठावेली, कृष्ण के तीलक लिलार ए ।
 जब श्रीकृष्ण पवन रथ जोते ले, बाजेला घुंघर निशान ए ।
 गौरी पुजी रूक्मीणी घर के लौटेली, कृष्ण जी लिहले उठाइ ए ।
 रोवे शिशुपाल ए मुंह दे रूमलिया, टपक टपकी चुवे लोर ए ।
 माइ बहिनी घर पुछन लगीहें, काइ उत्तर हम देबी ए ।

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कहँवा ही से चलि भइले रघुनन्दन, कंहवा ही करेला पयान ए ।
 कहँवा ही जामेली तुलसी दुलरूई, केकरा से होला ब्याह ए ।
 पूरब से चलि भइले रघुनन्दन, पश्चिम करेले पयान ए ।
 कुरखेत जामेली तुलसी दुलरूई, राम से होला ब्याह ए ।
 नैहर से तुलसी ससुरा अइली, चलेली सासु जी के पास ए ।
 झारी पटोर सासु बेटी के दिहली, आंचर करेली बेयार ए ।
 मंगिया के जुड़ तुहु रहीह ए तुलसी, कोखिअन झालर लाइ ए ।
 राम सुरूसुरू वू होखीह हे तुलसी, भुगत अयोध्या के राज ए ।
 नैहर ले तुलसी सासुर अइली, चलेली सबत जी के पास ए ।
 झोंटा धरी झोंटीआवेली सौती के, अमरन लिहली उतार ए ।

मंगिया के जुड़ तुंह रहीह ए बहीनी, कौंखिया के होखीह बिहुन ए ।
 राम से दूर दूर रहीह ए बहीनी, होखीह भदउआ के हील ए ।
 बेरी ही बेरी तोहि बरजों ए तुलसी, सौत भइल जनि जाहु ए ।
 इसर खेत कमल नहीं उपजेला, सौत आपन नहिं होइ ए ।

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रामचन्द्र चलेले ब्याहन रीमिभिमि बाजन ए ।
 आहे रीखे आगे खबरी जनाव कहां दल उतरेला ए ॥
 ठुंठी पकड़िया मधु मातल आले बासे छाजन ए ।
 आहो भुरू भुरू बहेला बेयार उंहे दल उतरेला ए ॥
 परीछे बाहर भइली सासु त ओढ़ेली पिताम्बर ए ।
 आहे केकर आरती उतारी कौन बर सुन्दर ए ॥
 भइले ब्याह पह फाटेला चुह चुहिया एक बोलेला ए ।
 आहे खोलि सासु सुबरन किवड़िया त राम जइहें कोहवर ए ॥
 कैसे मै खोलहु किवड़िया त राम जैहें कोहवर ए ।
 आहो मोरी सीता लड़ीका से बाल बोलही नहीं जानेली ए ॥
 जो सीता लड़ीका से बाल बोलही नहीं जानेली ए ।
 आहे हमहुं कवलवा के फूल दुनोही मिलि विश्रहवो ए ॥

१७५

पुजन भवानी चलेली सीता देई, हाथ डलउआ मुख पान ए ।
 जब रे सीता देइ पुजली भवानी, मन ही मने मुसकाइ ए ।
 जे मनसा लागी पुजलु भवानी, से मनसा पुजीहें तोहार ए ।
 ऊंचे रे भरोखा चढ़ि अम्मा निरेखेली, अब सीता ब्याहन योग्य ए ।
 कंहवा गंववलू सीता ठीक दुपहरिया, कंहवा गंववलू सारी रात ए ।
 फुलवा लोढ़त अम्मा ठीक दुपहरिया, हरवा गुथत सारी रात ए ।
 लेहुना ब्राह्मण हाथ के लोटिया, औरी पीअर जनेव ए ।
 देश पैठी ब्राह्मण बर एक खोजहु, सीता ब्याहन योग्य ए ।
 पूरब खोजीला पश्चिम खोजीला, खोजीला उड़ीसा जगरनाथ ए ।

बर एक मिले अयोध्या के गलिया, दशरथ कुल श्रीराम ए ।
जो येही मंगल गाइ सुनावहि, जन्म जन्म अहिवात ए ।

१७६

अरे चन्दन खम्भवा गढ़ायो मोर बाबा हो, चन्दन छिलि द्वार ए ।
अरे ब्याहन अइहें अयोध्या के राजा, दशरथ कुल उजियार ए ।
अरे पहीले जे भेजे राम सन सोहगइली, ताग ही पाट लगाई ए ।
अरे ताही पीछे भेजे राम अवध सिन्होरवा सीता के सोरहो शृंगार ए ।
अरे पहिरी ओढ़िय सीता चौका बैठेली, मोहेले मुनि सब लोग ए ।
अरे अरज से बोलेले बाबा जनइया रीखे, सीता से मिनती हमार ए ।
तनि एका सीता हो सुरती नेवालहु, मोहेला सब संसार ए ।
अरे तनि एका सीता हो सुरती छिपावहु, सूर्य अलोपित होइ ए ।
अरज से बोलेली बेटी सीता रानी, बाबा से अरज हमार ए ।
अरे सहु बाबा सहु बाबा आजु की रतियां, काहू जाइवी ससुराल ए ।
अरे कौवा के खइले अमर नहीं होइब, कोठिया ना भरेले धन ए ।
अरे बिअवा के देले बाबा धन नाही घटेला, रहि जैहें नाम तोहार ए ।

१७७

माता पिता मिली एकमति भइले, रुक्मीणी कन्या कुंआर ए ।
रुक्मीणी श्री कृष्ण ब्याहवी, जे बर त्रिभुवन नाथ ए ।
इतना बचन जब सुनले रुक्मीणी के जेठ भाई ए ।
रुक्मीणी शिशुपाल ब्याहवी, जे बर जाती के होइ ए ।
से सुनि रुक्मीणी मनहीं दुःखित भइली, नैनन ढारेली लोर ए ।
आंचर फारि रुक्मीणी कर रे कगजवा, नैना काजर मसिहान ए ।
अवटी पवटी रुक्मीणी सर रे सन्देशवा, बिचवा में बारहो वियोग ए ।
लेहुना विप्र हो डाल भर सोनवा, एकली चिटिया पहुँचाइ ए ।
छोटे मुटे गछिया कदम जुड छहिया, तहां कृष्ण खेले जुआसार ए ।
जाइ के विप्रजो पांती पसारेले, कृष्ण पांती जे बांचेले बांचत नयन ढरे लोर ए ।
हाली हाली सेवक रथ सजावहु, साजत विलम्ब जनि होइ ए ।

THE PATNA SCHOOL OF PAINTING (19TH CENTURY).

By P. C. MANUK

President, Managing Committee, Patna Museum

The last of the important painters of the Patna School is still alive in the person of Professor Ishwari Prasad, late Vice-Principal and Professor of Fine Arts and Indian paintings at the School of Art, Calcutta, now in enjoyment of a well-earned pension (*Plate 1*). His hand has not lost its skill, as will be apparent from his last original work now happily in the writer's Collection : a charming study of a seated young woman with attractive and intriguing face, with her forefinger to chin as if in contemplation of events to come, peering into the future with expressive eyes. It was an inspiration after this Great War II broke out, and the artist styles it "India contemplates the War." The lady is painted in soft colours, made by the artist himself, with discreet touches of gold, while by way of contrast a vivid carmine has been used to depict the curtain across the Saracenic arch in the top background: altogether a delicate composition attractive in its very simplicity (*Plate 2*). Perhaps she visualises India as a free country within the great British Commonwealth of Nations, a freedom won by the gallant deeds of her sons on many a far flung battle front. The Masters of the Kangra School, whose technique is not very dissimilar, never painted a

more dainty little lady typifying India through her womanhood.

When the writer had the good fortune to acquire this little gem recently, it struck him that it would be as well to collect from the Professor all the information available of the history of himself and his forbears who founded what is known to collectors of and writers on Indian pictorial Art as the Patna School, a School which the writer may fairly lay claim to have made known some years ago when he first entered the field of Indian pictorial Art as a collector. Most of the information brought together and published here in some detail has been gathered from Professor Ishwari Prasad, some from other sources, and the writer has been encouraged by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri to contribute this article to the B. O. R. S. Magazine, obviously the most appropriate medium through which the Patna School of Artists should be perpetuated.

Ishwari Prasad inherits his artistic gifts from his mother, the lady Sona Bai, an artist herself. He was born in the house of his maternal grandfather in 1871 in Lodikatra, a quarter of Patna City. His father, Fakir Chand by name, (not to be confused with another ancestor of the same name from the distaff side to be mentioned presently) was a Supervisor in a Military Department and his paternal grandfather was a Subedar Bahadur in the Sappers of the East India Company. This family hailed from the Allahabad district, but neither of these two gentlemen was an artist. To trace the artistic strain in the family, we have therefore to

work through the maternal grandfather Babu Shiva Lal also known as Shiva Lal Saheb, "Shahi Musavvir" or Imperial Artist. This designation attached to his name indicates his descent from one or more of the Court Painters of the Grand Moguls. Shiva Lal's family originally hailed from Delhi which was the scene of their artistic activities through the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjehan. The earliest artist forbear whose name is remembered in the family tradition is Manchar, a famous Court painter under Akbar and also mentioned in the Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangir¹.

In the reign of the Emperor Aurangzebe (1658—1707) who encouraged no kind of pictorial Art except paintings commemorating his own military exploits (there are two such examples in the writer's Collection) or depicting his acts of piety (such as reading the Koran in mosques) and who rather more than discouraged all Hindu Art and Hindu artists, the descendants of Manohar migrated *en bloc* to Murshidabad, where reigned at that time a Viceroy of Bengal more enlightened and liberal minded than his Imperial Master at Delhi. Dhani Ram was the name of Ishwari Prasad's artist ancestor at that time. As an authentic portrait of Dhani Ram is available and as portraits of artists of the Mogul period are extremely rare, it may be of interest to reproduce this portrait even though it be a rough sketch (*Plate 3*). He and his descendants

1. For a fine example reproduced in colour of Manohar's work see Plate xxxi, *Indian Painting under the Moguls* by Percy Brown, 1924.

and a small coterie of artists from Delhi established themselves in the village of Balu Chak on the Ganges hard by Murshidabad and for sometime enjoyed the patronage of the Nawabs of Murshidabad and other local gentry, practising their art in peace. A painting of a Begum with a hookha seated on the river bank has survived from those days and is reproduced in *Plate 4*, not because of any intrinsic merit but because it depicts the Ganges with Murshidabad on the right farther bank and the village of Balu Chak at the bend of the river on the opposite bank. This 'Chak' has since disappeared, and the name of the artist is not known. A further reason for reproducing this painting is that it is the only authentic example by one of the immigrant artists working at Murshidabad and illustrates how the Delhi technique had already been shed. Moreover at foreshadows faintly, perhaps, the more careful and pleasing technique of the Patna School established by these Murshidabad artists later on.

Then came another change in the family's fortune, necessitating another migration. In 1757 there succeeded to the Bengal Nizamat Nawab Mir Jaffar. He conferred on his son Miran *alias* Mohamed Sadiq Khan the title of Nasir-ul-Mulk, Ala-u-Dowlah and also the Revenue stewardship of the three Provinces. This Miran though brave and able was vicious and cruel, and it is said that his oppression drove our Hindu artists to migrate once more and this time the trek was to Patna. The name of Ishwari's ancestor who came to

Patna is untraceable. With them came a number of artist castemen and pupils whose names are likewise unremembered and this group of emigres laid the foundation of the Patna School of Painting. If the information is correct that the exodus was due to Miran's conduct—and there is no reason to doubt the tradition—then it must have taken place very shortly before 1760, as Miran was struck by lightning and killed in that year¹.

Mr. Percy Brown states that with the disintegration of the Mogul Empire towards the end of the 18th Century, Mogul artists were beginning to be scattered all over the peninsula; and that one group of Hindu artists wandered East to Patna in Bihar there to form a local style or qalam which was of some repute in the beginning of the 19th Century². It will be seen that our investigations on the spot bear out approximately the date of the migration to Patna, but that migration was not direct from Delhi; there was an intermediate stage at Murshidabad, at any rate so far as the locally best known artists of the Patna School are concerned. There is unfortunately however no definite evidence apart from tradition

1 A History of Murshidabad District by Major J. H. T. Walsh, 1902 p. 151. Miran was also appointed Deputy of the Viceroy his father (Translation of Maharaja Kalyan Singh's Khulasat-ut-Tewarikh by Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, J. B. & O. R. S. June 1918 p. 234.)

2 *Indian Painting under the Moguls* by Percy Brown, p. 104; see also p. 193.

to fix the beginning of the Patna School or Qalam as we now know it.

The names of these artist emigré's from Murshidabad are difficult to trace. Rai Ishwari Prasad does not remember even the name of his maternal ancestor who removed to Patna and whose son was Fakir Chand ; but it seems that an early artist of repute, who came probably later from Benares, was one Sewak Ram, who had been a retained artist in the Darbar of the then Maharaja of Benares and migrated to Patna on his patron's death.

There may of course have been stray artists working in Azimabad, the City's name in Mogul days, towards the end of the 18th Century—for Azimabad was the seat of a Subedar or Governor under the Grand Moguls and there is every reason to believe that Governors followed the fashion set by their Emperors and maintained artists at their Provincial Courts. Descendants of those artists may well have survived into the 19th Century, eking out a precarious existence by practising their Art. If there were any such indigenous artists when Ishwari Prasad's ancestors removed to Patna, their works are unknown and not one of their names has survived even by verbal tradition.

In this connection Mr. Shere, the Curator of the Patna Museum, has shown the writer a painting very reminiscent of the Patna School in technique. It depicts a woman apparently after her bath standing on a low wooden platform, drying her hair. She

is dressed in a very transparent Muslin skirt which is held in place by a girdle below the breasts. The form and figure are completely visible through the diaphanous drapery. Incidentally, this is a frequent subject in Mogul and Rajput painting. The figure is well drawn but the face may have been more pleasing. The most pleasing part of the whole picture, however, is the river scene *en vignette* on one side of the picture, with its little boats and figures, and cottages on the further bank. The interest of this little item is that we definitely know it was painted by an artist named Mir Abbas Ali who died at the ripe old age of 95 about 40 years ago, *i. e.* in 1903. The picture is in the possession of Mr. Hassan Ahmad Khan, Rais and Zemin-dar of Islampur in the district of Patna, not very far from Patna City itself. The artist Mir Abbas Ali was a retained artist in the employ of Mr. Hassan Ahmad Khan's grandfather, Chaudhuri Zahurul Huq Sahab of Islampur, who died about 60 years ago, *i. e.* 1883. The tradition is that Mir Abbas Ali came from Lucknow and, having regard to the dates mentioned above, this picture may well have been painted in the second half of the 19th Century. The conclusion from all this is that apart from the artists established at Patna City in the 19th Century there were at the same time other artists plying their profession in the district itself.

Professor Ishwari Prasad's information is that Sewak Ram had no established atelier or studio at Patna at which he taught or trained pupils, but it is more than probable that indigenous talent must

have been attracted to this artist and been influenced by his style and technique. Unfortunately none of these artists signed their paintings throughout the 19th Century, so we have to rely entirely on attributions authenticated by old artists of the School and by information gleaned from surviving dependants of the patrons of these artists.

The earliest example, attributed to Sewak Ram, is to be seen in *Plate 5*—in which he probably depicted two of his patrons on a caparisoned elephant wending their way through Patna City, possibly to pay an official visit. It is rough in brush work and hard in colour and of no great merit, and it is reproduced only because it is the earliest example extant with a fairly authenticated attribution, though it is more typical of the Benares than the Patna School. An unusual feature of Sewak Ram's work was that he rarely used pencilling to delineate his figures before applying the brush; he painted his figures with the brush straightaway, a technique known as *Kajli seahi*, requiring considerable skill in painting what are really "miniatures" as they are technically called. The smaller the dimensions of the picture, the more difficult is the required brush touch.

Fakir Chand's son was the talented Shiva Lal, "Shahi Musavvir," referred to above as the maternal grandfather of Ishwari Prasad. Shiva Lal had no son but a daughter Sona Bai who inherited her father's artistic gifts and transmitted them to her only child Ishwari.

Shiva Lal was born at Patna and died in the family house at Lodikatra in Patna City in 1883 at a ripe old age, so he must have worked many years in Patna, at first under his father. Of him it is said that he opened a Studio or "Musavvirkhana" to which flocked pupils from Patna City, Benares, Allahabad, Lucknow and even Murshidabad (the late residence of the family). The artists of Delhi refused to be drawn into the orbit of the New School which at that time threatened to become an important rival. No example of Fakir Chand's work can be traced, but a fine example of Shiva Lal's work is seen in *Plate 6*—A Mahommedan wedding. The picture is painted with dignity and restraint.¹ Gone are the gorgeous colours, tessellated walls and floors and decorative surroundings of the Persian and Mogul Schools, which arrest the eye. Instead we have a softness of colouring and a simplicity of design which rest the eye. Gone are the often complicated architectural effects not only of the earlier Schools but also very frequently of the later Pahari and Kangra examples. The attitudinising figures and over crowding in so many paintings of the older Schools make way for simple and far more natural figures, perfectly drawn and proportioned, and, though the figures are numerous, so admirably grouped and posed that there is no sense of congestion. Each figure is alive and pleasing, each

1 First reproduced in the Indian Athenæum of August 1923, Vol. I, No. 23, Page 4. Oriental Art Treasures by J. N. Samaddar, B. A.*

woman is doing just what we may expect her to do, and looking as we may expect her to look at such a ceremony. Nothing is stereotyped, there is a flow of rhythmic action in the whole composition. For these reasons one must say it is the work of a master with an individualistic style and technique that command admiration, and in this instance the attribution is fortunately well authenticated.

Another artist of this family was Shiva Dayal Lal (the maternal uncle of Shiva Lal). It is not clear when and whence he came to Patna but he worked in Patna till his death about 1867 or 1870. Professor Ishwari Prasad attributes the painting Chauthari Ganga Puja in the Patna Museum (too damaged and faint to reproduce) to Shiva Dayal Lal, who was the master artist retained in the Durbar of Rai Sultan Bahadur, a Rais of Patna City, whose descendant presented it to the Museum. He also maintained a studio in which many pupils were trained.

At Patna this family of artists found patronage under Raja Jhau Lal¹ of Jhaugunj a quarter of Patna City named after the Raja, and later under Rai Sultan Bahadur, another cultured zemindar and Rais of Patna City descended from a cousin of Maharaja Shitab Rai, Deputy Governor of Bihar and Orissa under the Moguls. It is also said that the then Maharajas of Bettiah in North Bihar were

1. Jhau Lal was a minister of Asaf-ud-daula, Nawab of Oudh who reigned from 1775—1787. It is not known when Jhau Lal died. Cf: O'Malley's Patna Gazetteer 1907, p. 209.

great patrons of these artists and in fact there is a collection of their work in possession of the Bettiah Estate now under the Court of Wards.

It is not clear whether Sewak Ram or any of the earlier artists was attached to the establishment of any great Rais, but Shiva Lal Saheb, "Shahi Musavvir", apparently refrained from becoming a retainer of any great house; he preferred to remain a free lance with his own "Musavvir-Khana" (Studio) painting on commissions from wealthy patrons and training his pupils. Some of the latter undoubtedly gravitated into the establishments of patrons such as the Jhaugunj Raja and Rai Sultan Bahadur and became retained artists of their Durbars, as was the custom in the days of the Grand Mogul. One such was probably Mahadeva Lal of a Benares family of artists. He came to Patna as a lad of 16, having already received a grounding from his elder brother Bisheshwar Lal, an artist of repute. Here at Patna, Mahadeva Lal was introduced to Babu Punjab Rai, Diwan of Rai Durga Prasad Saheb, the heir of Maharaja Ramnarain of Patna. This Rais took a fancy to the youthful Mahadeva and entertained him as an artist of his Durbar. On the death of Shiva Dayal Lal referred to above, his widow adopted Mahadeva. He lived and worked in Patna City till his death in 1943 at the ripe age of 90, but in his later years blindness overtook him and he became sadly impoverished. An example of work attributed to Mahadeva Lal will be seen in "Ragini Gandhari" (Plate 7). In the writer's early collecting days he

frequently employed Mahadeva Lal to repair some of his damaged acquisitions and one winter sent him touring in Northern India in quest of good paintings. He was not very successful in this quest but did acquire a very fine but alas ! damaged example of the early Kangra School depicting the scene known as Kalya Nag, *i. e.* Sri Krishna subduing the river dragon while the latter's mermaid wives beseech the God to spare his life. Incidentally, Babu Radha Mohan now Principal of the recently established Patna School of Art was a pupil of Mahadeva Lal, so the Patna School tradition of technique still survives, for here at Patna these 19th Century artists developed an individualistic style and technique very different as already pointed out from the somewhat stereotyped Mogul School with its attitudinising figures (due to the earlier Persian influence) and also different from the less formal Rajput School, making their own pigment and their own brushes as did their ancestors the Court painters of the spacious Mogul days, and in the earlier period making their own paper.

Unfortunately none of these 19th Century examples of the School are signed so far as we know, but Professor Ishwari Prasad is able to attribute our more important pictures to one or other of the limited number of the better known artists who later developed this School. As their numbers expanded, the rank and file, in order to earn a living, must have painted the numerous specimens that are extant of the multifarious scenes

they daily witnessed of every day life in the City, artisans and craftsmen plying their trade, carpenters, weavers, blacksmiths, silversmiths (*Plate 8*), butchers, fisherwomen with baskets of their men's catch, even the humble dhobi or the toddy tapper, sadhus and ascetics, ekkas and palanquins and a hundred other subjects too numerous to mention. The Patna Museum possesses a considerable number of these slight coloured sketches of every day life of Patna folk, most of which are admirably drawn and life like representations. Rarely have these any landscape, foreground or background; they may be dubbed "pot boilers", which used to be sold at a rupee or so each and presumably were popular with the middle classes from whose descendants the writer has acquired many at quite modest prices. These are probably the examples which Mr. Percy Brown describes as "hard in feeling" but "quite good in technique".

Others specialised in painting birds, not only the birds they saw around them but also rare birds, in the Aviaries of their patrons, for it was the fashion amongst the gentry in those days to keep such Aviaries. These birds too are admirably drawn and very delicately painted, but with rare exceptions there is no foliage, no environment to complete a picture, such as we find in the beautiful bird pictures of Mansur, the Master Court painter to Akbar and after him to Jehangir, mentioned especially in the *Jehangirnama*. In (*Plate 9*) we have

1. Indian Painting under the Moguls, p. 193.

one of the best examples of a bird by Gursahay Lal of the Patna School. The names of the artists who were painting these birds were Gursahay Lal who died about 1865, Bani Lal, Sheogovind Lal and one Bahadur Lal of Arrah, all of whom lived to a good old age and died in the last decade of the 19th Century.

The dove of Bihar known as pandook (*Plate 10*) by Bahadur Lal of Arrah is so elegantly drawn that we cannot refrain from reproducing it. Moreover its pale grey plumage flushed with pale rose is so delicately painted that we regret it is not possible to reproduce this example in colour, owing to the delay and expense involved.

Incidentally there appears to have been a branch of the Patna School working at Arrah (of Mutiny fame), some of whom painted the homely everyday scenes on mica. Examples of these are to be found at the Patna Museum, the Patna School of Art and in the writer's and other private collections. Only the finest translucent mica was used by these artists, the mica lending brilliance to the pigment.

Others again, including Bahadur Lal, specialised on flower painting. An Album of such flower pictures was recently presented to the Patna Museum by Rai Shyam Bahadur, grandson of Rai Sultan Bahadur, and a Rais of Patna City. Mostly, they are just sprays of different flowers, well executed but appearing rather cold and naked without plant or vase or bouquet of well blended flowers. They are obviously very late 19th Century work. Professor Ishwari Prasad attributes them to Bahadur Lal of Patna who was in the

service of Rai Sultan Bahadur and died at the end of the last Century.

Another good artist was Gopal Lal, who worked in Shiva Lal's studio, as he and Shiva Lal had married two sisters, and who eventually died at Calcutta about 1911. Two pictures attributed to him by Professor Ishwari Prasad are in the Museum—the Holi Festival and Hutri Festival on Diwali Day (*Plate 11*). In the latter we have again a typical Patna Qalam picture of good technique. It is drawn and coloured with dignified restraint, though not so important or fine an example as Plate 6. It was very generously presented to the Museum by Messrs. Dabur of Deoghar in the district of Dumka, Santal Parganas, through the good offices of Mr. W. G. Archer, now Deputy Commissioner of Dumka and a Member of the Managing Committee of the Patna Museum. Along with this picture, was presented an Album dated 1825 containing a miscellaneous collection of sketches of scenes from everyday life, similar to the pot boilers of the Patna School referred to above. From the human types depicted as well as from their clothing and head gear, it is clear that these slight painted sketches were done in Western and Southern India. There is not a single example of the Patna School in this Album so the date on the Album will not assist us to fix the dates of our Patna sketches. All we can infer is that sometime before 1825 such work was being done in various parts of India and had a popular market.

In *Revels in the Harem* (*Plate 12*) we have an unusual example of the School by Jamuna Prasad

who was in the service of Rai Sultan Bahadur, one of whose descendants generously presented this painting to the Patna Museum through Khan Saheb S. A. A. Rizavi, Magistrate of Patna City. Jamuna Prasad died about 50 years ago and as this picture is said to have been painted towards the end of his life, it may be placed somewhere in the last quarter of the 19th Century. It is unusual in the abandon displayed, suitable of course to the subject; the colours are also brighter and more vivid than typical of the School. The moulding of the figures is good and an unconventional scene has been treated with a vigour which may easily have degenerated into coarseness in less skilled hands.

Bani Lal, one of the artists mentioned above as painting birds, was a pupil of Shiva Lal our Shahi Musavvir. A good example of his general work (*Plate 13*) is in the Museum. The elephant is finally drawn and the scene is one familiar to residents of Patna. It may be observed that Indian artists usually excel in drawing the bulky elephant with its ponderous movements, following nature strictly and avoiding convention such as we frequently find them adopting in their drawings of horses and dogs. This picture is said to have been painted in the last quarter of the 19th Century. Another example by this excellent artist is to be seen in the midday rest (*Plate 14*) in which the drawing is good, the colours subdued and reminiscent of those in the Mohomedan marriage by Shiva Lal (whose pupil was Bani Lal). The warm atmosphere of the desert is also well reproduced. There is reliable evidence

that this picture was painted shortly after the Mutiny, probably about 1858.

There have also been two lady artists in the family : Shiva Lal Saheb's sister Daksho Bibi and the Professor's mother, the lady Sona Bai, both of whom indulged their talent as a pleasant diversion.

As Shiva Lal Saheb preferred to remain a free lance, he was able to pay frequent visits to Calcutta from his Patna house and the then young Ishwari frequently accompanied him on these trips. In Calcutta, Shiva Lal must have come into contact with European pictorial Art which would account for the European influence which steadily crept into Patna work, though Ishwari Prasad attributes the European influence largely to the patronage of certain distinguished British officials of those days serving at Patna. He says that Tayler, Commissioner of Patna, of Mutiny fame, and Lyall and D'Oyly¹

¹ Tayler (*sic*) was Commissioner of Patna from 1855 to 1857. Dr. Lyell (*sic*), P.A., acted as Opium Agent for only 4 days from 30-6-57 to 3-7-57.

W. H. D'Oyly who succeeded to a Baronetcy after retirement was Opium Agent of Bihar in 1878 and again in 1885-86.

See "Appointments in Bengal and their holders from about 1850 to 1906". Bengal Secretariat Publication.

It was on the last of these 4 days, *i. e.* on 3rd July that Dr. Lyall was shot by rioters in Patna City. He gallantly rode out from the Opium Factory (now the Government Printing Press) in advance of Rattray's Sikhs thinking his presence would overawe the rioters who were rushing to attack the Roman Catholic Church in the City. As he approached them, several shots were fired and he fell mortally wounded (O'Malley's District Gazetteer of Patna p. 43).

Lyall's grave is in the old Cemetery near the Roman Catholic Convent at Bankipore.

in turn patronised these Patna artists, giving them and procuring for them commissions to paint more particularly miniature portraits from life in the style so fashionable in England since the days of Cosway and John Smart. John Smart, probably the finest English miniaturist, who unlike Cosway refused to flatter his sitters, actually visited India in the early 19th Century, and painted many known portraits invariably initialled "J.S." with an "I" beneath to indicate it was painted in India. There is no doubt that some of these Patna artists soon attained considerable skill in painting these portrait miniatures from life, as one occasionally picks up in Bihar excellent examples on ivory or even on paper, the subjects being British men and ladies dressed in the costume of the period or military officers in full uniform. There are also extant many portraits on ivory of Indian gentlemen of the upper classes in their national costumes and of Indian ladies. As in those days the Purdah was strictly observed by ladies of the upper classes, both Hindu and Mahomedan, these latter portraits may be of famous dancing girls or of mistresses maintained by the Patna gentry. Some of these are very beautiful both as to the subject and the execution, and many shew with charming effect, through an open window behind the lady, glimpses of the Ganges and its North bank in the background. As so many of the gentry of Patna had their residences on the River bank, one may surmise that these portraits undoubtedly from life were actually painted in rooms or terraces overlooking the Ganges. There are several good examples of these miniature

portraits at the Patna Museum and in the writer's collection.

A very pleasing though unfortunately unfinished portrait of an Indian lady may be seen in *Plate 15* definitely attributed by Professor Ishwari Prasad to his maternal uncle Shiva Lal, our "Shahi Musavvir"; and as this miniature has always been in possession of Ishwari Prasad till it was acquired by the writer, one may accept the attribution as authentic. Moreover it is so good in quality that it may well have been the work of Shiva Lal, the most distinguished of the artists of the Patna School in the 19th Century. The face alone has been painted but that has been painted with great delicacy; the artist has skilfully used the ivory itself to supply the high lights by adding the faintest touches of colour. Finally the expressive eyes and the warm full lips were surely the work of a masterhand. The lady's drapery covering the form are finely outlined in graceful curves and folds. A thousand pities that this little masterpiece of miniature portrait work on ivory was never completed! On the other hand one may be thankful that a less skilled hand did not attempt to complete the piece. This excellent artist died in the family house at Lodikatra, Patna City, at a ripe old age in 1883.

In the middle of the 19th Century, a painter of great repute in this line of miniature portraits was one Jairam Das, whose work was largely influenced by the English style and technique.

A fine example attributed to him is the European lady with brown curls, a red décolleté frock and a string of pearls round her neck (*Plate 16*). In *Plate 17* we have an attractive portrait of an Indian lady in pale blue Dopatta (Orhna) with embroidered border in yellow, a red lahnga or pyjama. Seated on her lap is a white dog, while on her shoulder is a tame squirrel. The Indian lady in *Plate 18* is another good example in which also the colours are harmoniously blended. She wears a pale green jacket under a diaphanous white sari with an embroidered border in yellow and red. The palm leaf fan is painted red with a yellow border. These latter two portraits may be by Shiva Lal or Jairam Das, the attributions being doubtful. No other portrait artist of repute is known.¹ In *Plate 19* we have a gentleman of the Victorian period with Dundreary whiskers dressed in a black coat with high open collar and black stock; while in *Plate 20*, unfortunately somewhat damaged, is depicted a high Military Officer heavily whiskered, wearing a black uniform with red and yellow collar and epaulettes. The identity of none of the Europeans portrayed is traceable.

It should be emphasised that these portraits drawn and painted from life are very different from the miniature portraits on ivory of Mogul

1. The Patna Museum is the fortunate possessor of these last three delightful miniature portraits painted from life. Vide Patna Museum Art Register Nos. 215, 208, and 205.

Emperors, Empresses and Princes which for very many years have been reproduced by hand at Delhi, frequently with considerable skill and minute observation of detail, and a liberal use of gold. In the case of the males these reproductions may be slavish copies from old originals, but it can hardly be supposed that high born ladies of the Imperial family ever shewed themselves to artists. With very rare exceptions they observed strict purdah, so their portraits must be wholly drawn from imagination. These Delhi miniatures, being copies, lack vitality and appear stiff and stilted. On the other hand, the portrait miniatures of the Patna School were all drawn and painted from life, enabling that subtle current of sympathy to flow between sitter and artist and thus inspire the skilled hand. Also, the lines are bolder, the brush work stronger than those in the meticulous style of the Delhi artists. Incidentally, no gold is used but a very pleasing yellow pigment closely imitating the colour of gold, both light or old gold as required. In fact this is the case not only in their miniature portraits, but also in their general work—rarely is actual gold used.

After the death of Shiva Lal, the Shahi Musavvir, in 1883, Ishwari took his wife and daughter to Jaura State in Central India, where his father was State Engineer. For four years they lingered there and then the father retired to Muttra accompanied by his son and the latter's family.

At Muttra, Ishwari obtained a post as retained artist to Raja Lachuman Das Seth.

It seems that the death of Shiva Lal and the departure of Ishwari more or less coincided with the demise of various Indian patrons and the departure of European patrons of the dwindling group of Patna artists. The last of their known Indian patrons, Rai Sultan Bahadur died in 1892 leaving no male issue to carry on the tradition of encouragement. The result was that most of these artists began to scatter and, what is worse, give up their profession. Some took posts as draftsmen, some as tracers in Government Offices ; some turned their artistic qualifications to designing borders on piece goods in various Companies. One Bahadur Lal of Patna seems to have been the only known artist who continued attached to Rai Sultan Bahadur's Durbar till that rais's death in 1892. Then he too removed to Calcutta and took a post as designer to the firm of Kar Tarak and Co. Ishwari himself worked at Muttra for some years and after his father's death, followed by the death of the Raja, his patron, he too moved on to Calcutta. In fact when the writer came to Patna in the closing years of the last century the only known artist still plying his trade against adverse circumstances was Mahadeva Lal, referred to earlier in this article. The times were bad, photography was displacing painting and portrait painting in particular, the work of the last survivors deteriorated and thus ended the Patna School of the 19th Century.

Although not strictly pertinent to the title of this Article, it may be of interest to record the rest of Ishwari Prasad's own life story, for the writer looks upon him as the last well known master of the School. In 1904 he was first appointed a teacher in foliage at the Calcutta School of Art which had been opened in the last decade of the 19th Century and was then located in Bow Bazar with Jobin as its Principal. The School was later removed to Chowringhee next door to the Indian Museum when E. B. Havell (author of a well-known early work on Indian Paintings) became its Principal. Then followed Mr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, the master artist of the Bengal School, whose paintings are world famous. Later Mr. Percy Brown, whose work on Mogul Paintings is probably the best and most reliable on that subject, assumed the Principalship and for a period Ishwari Prasad acted as Vice-Principal.

Ishwari Prasad had 3 sons: Narain, Rameshwar and Mahabir, all artists. The most gifted of these was Rameshwar whom the writer discovered several years ago and who painted several excellent pictures for him on commission, before this talented young artist went to England on a State scholarship. There he qualified as an A. R. C. A., London, passing through the 4 years course at the South Kensington School of Art, after which he returned to India. Sad to relate, within a year of his return to his homeland this brilliant and promising young artist died. The writer has several examples of his early work, but after his return from England he was much occupied in

mural painting for the late Maharajdhiraj of Burdwan. In the example *Plate 21*, this young artist gives us a pleasing combination of Persia and the Pahari School of India. The other son Mahabir has also inherited his father's gift as is evident from the charming study of a woman on a balcony (*Plate 22*). The colours are soft and well blended and the composition altogether harmonious.

It may also be useful to record some information about the pigment used by the master artists of this School. The writer has gleaned the following information regarding the manufacture of their colours :—

Gulabi (various shades of red from pink to carmine)—was prepared from shellac.

Safaida (white)—from a particular kind of earth from Kashghar and not from misshaped or seed pearls, as the writer was told by descendants of Mogul artists in Kashmir.

Seahi (black)—from burnt ivory or from the burnt wick of a chiragh, *i. e.* the homely earthenware shallow vessel which holds the oil and provides the cottage light.

Sayravan (yellow)—from gamboge or a yellow gum resin taken off the gum tree.

Neel (blue)—from indigo.

Shanjarf or vermilion—from cinnabar or an ore of mercury from China.

Magenta—from the roots of a tree.

Sabz (green)—from a mixture of gamboge and neel (blue).

Lajvard—from lapis lazuli.

Geru (Indian brickred)—from red earth found near Cawnpore.

Abrang (pale brownish yellow)—from yellow ochre found near Muttra.

Gold pigment is prepared from gold leaf beaten fine, first mixed with honey, then a little water added; the mixture is well stirred and then allowed to settle; the water is then drained and the gold remains as a powdery sediment. This is then mixed with gum arabic obtained from the acacia plant and the gold paint is then ready to be applied with a brush.

Silver—the same process is used.

In fact gum arabic is added to all these pigments before use.

The artists of Kashmir told the writer of a tradition that the blood of animals and of certain birds was used in the manufacture of various shades of red, but Professor Ishwari Prasad stoutly contradicts this assertion, pointing out that all blood turns into a blackish colour after exposure to the air.

I doubt if many of the artists painting in India to-day take the trouble to manufacture their own pigments; the processes involve too much time and labour and money. It was for this reason that the late Sir John Woodroffe, Judge of the Calcutta High Court, a Sanskrit scholar deeply interested in the culture, the religion and the arts of India, commissioned Professor Ishwari Prasad to make a complete set of paints. When this was done, Sir John

Woodroffe who was also closely associated with the Oriental Art School in Calcutta distributed the pigments amongst his friends, presumably to encourage the young artists of Bengal to make their own paints.

As regards brushes, the Professor says that for very fine work they used a brush made from the tails of squirrels. For bolder and broader work they used hair from the tail of a goat or from the neck of a hog or the neck of a buffalo. All these hairs except those of the squirrel were first softened by being boiled. Incidentally, the writer was told in Kashmir that many of the Court painters used camel hair brushes for fine work and these brushes were often composed of a single hair of the camel to paint in human hair. This is not unlikely because when one examines a Mogul portrait through a strong magnifying glass one is surprised to find the delicacy with which each hair of the subject's head is delineated.

Then as to their paper : In the early days at Patna these artists made their own paper by hand from cotton (called tulat) or rags ; or they used paper prepared by hand in Nepal from jute or bamboo saplings (called bansaha). In the latter half of the 11th Century they began to use drawing paper from Europe.

Finally, they never seem to have given their finished work a polish by gentle rubbing with a smooth piece of agate or ivory, as was the general practice in the Mogul School and even in the Pahari Schools of the late 18th and early 19th Centuries.

In fact the practice persisted in Kangra, Chamba and Garhwal into our times and probably is still in vogue in most of the submontane regions which turn out the numerous mythological paintings on the market.

Before closing this Article, I must express my indebtedness to Mr. S. A. Shere, M. A., Curator, Patna Museum, who has been most helpful in checking up facts from local sources in Patna City, as also in lending me the services of Babu P. K. Rai Chowdry, the Photographer on the Museum staff, whose excellent prints have been reproduced in the Plates.

PLATES



Plate 1

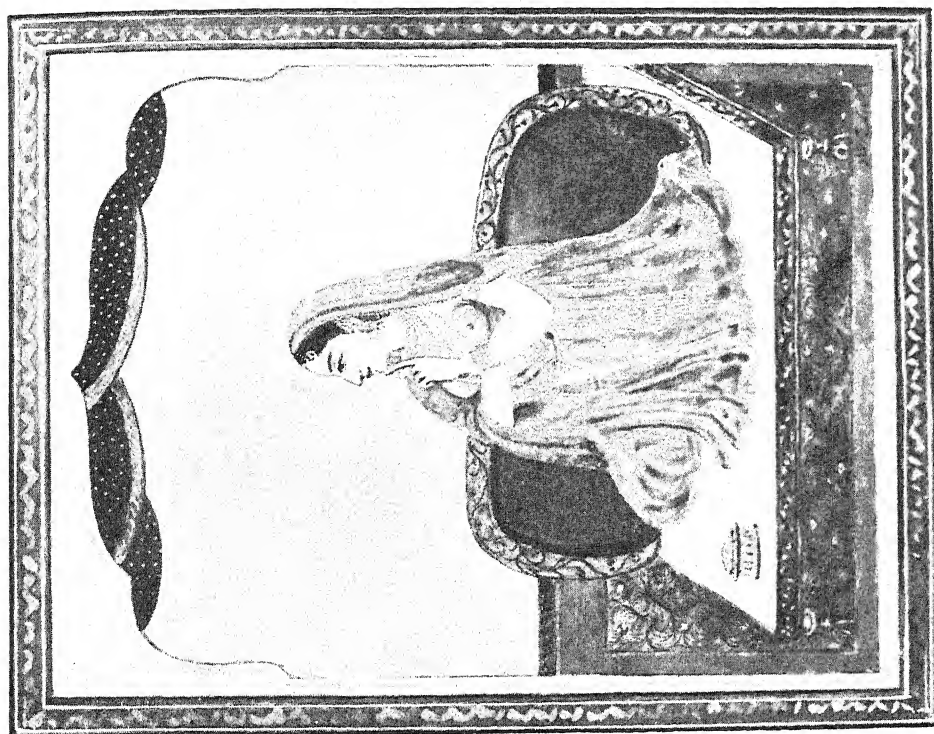


Plate 2.

Writer's Collection
JBRS 1943



Plate 3.

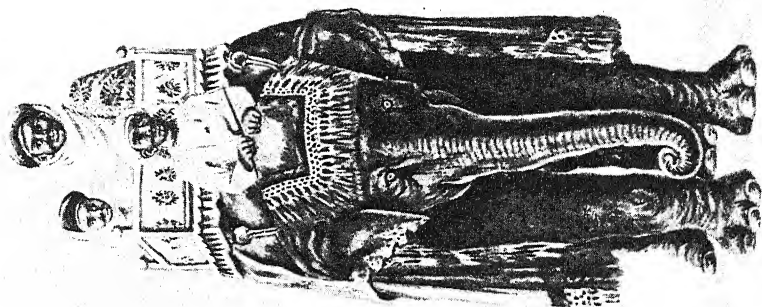
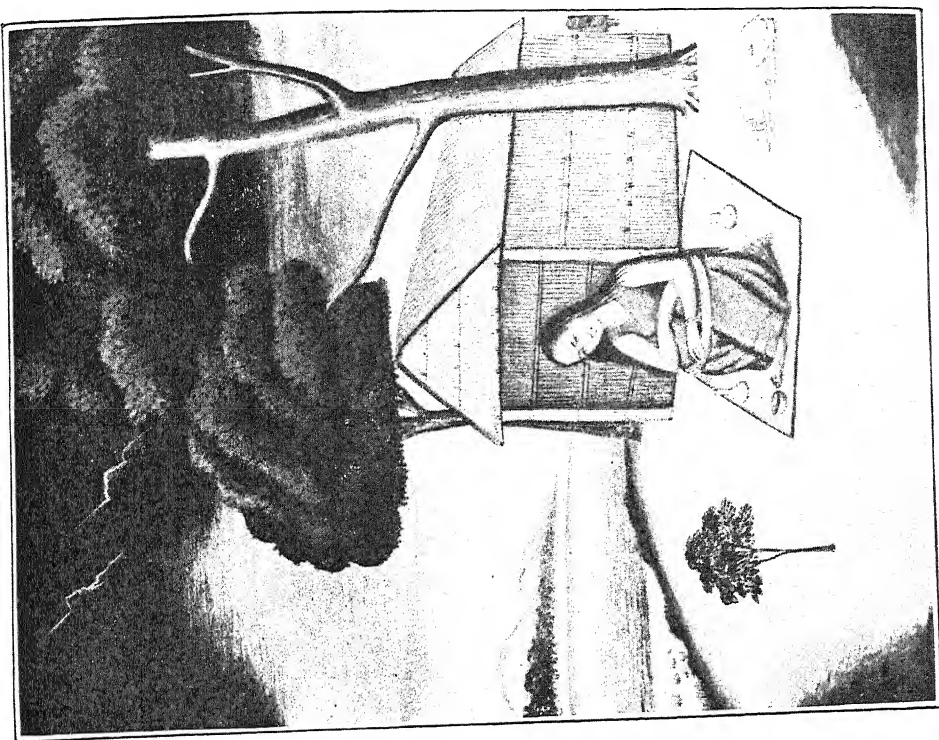


Plate 5.



Patna Museum
JBRS 1913

Plate 7.

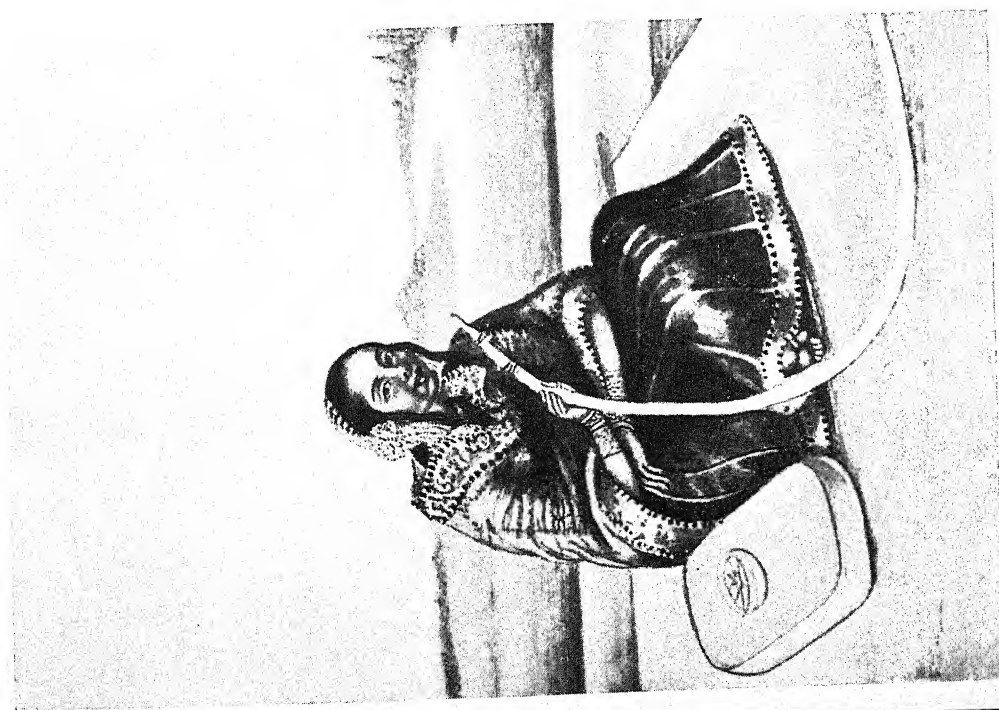


Plate 4

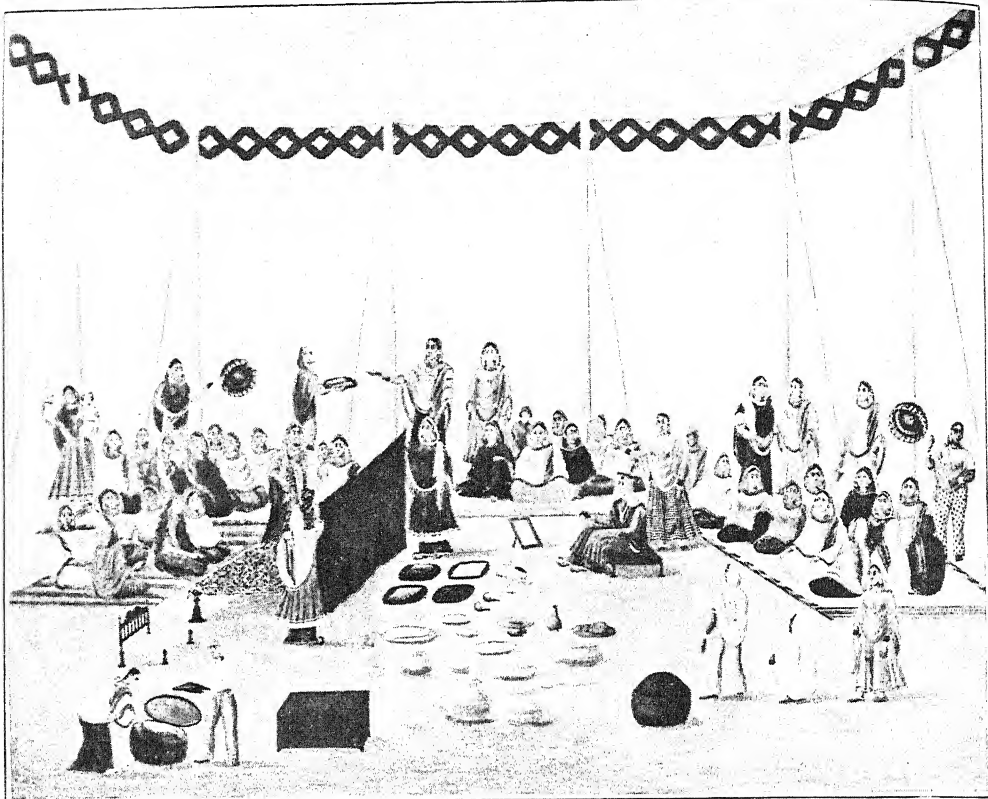


Plate 6.

Writer's Collection



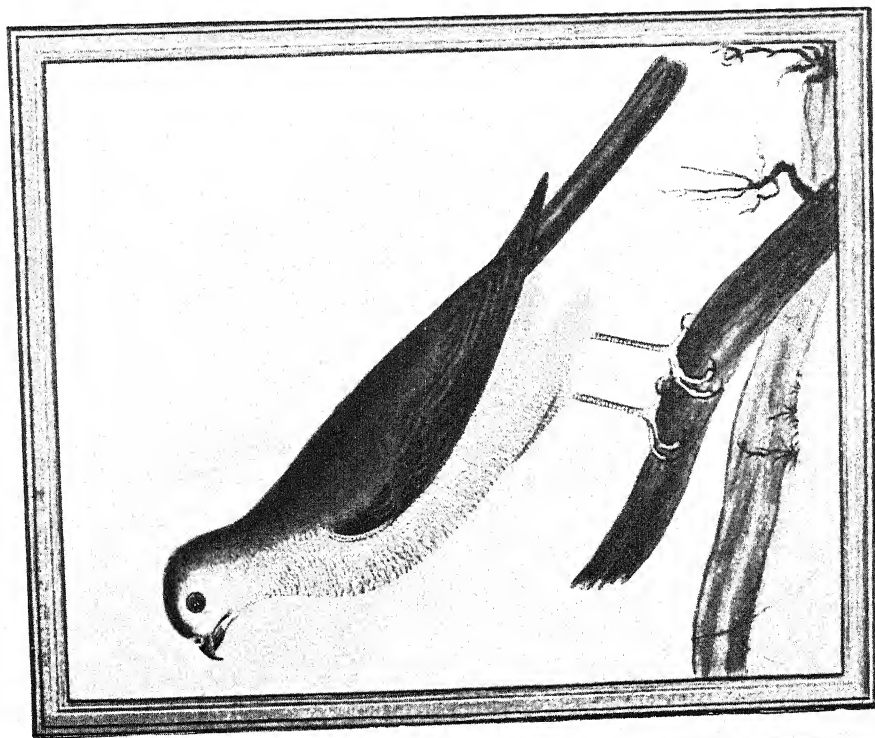


Plate 9.

Writer's Collection

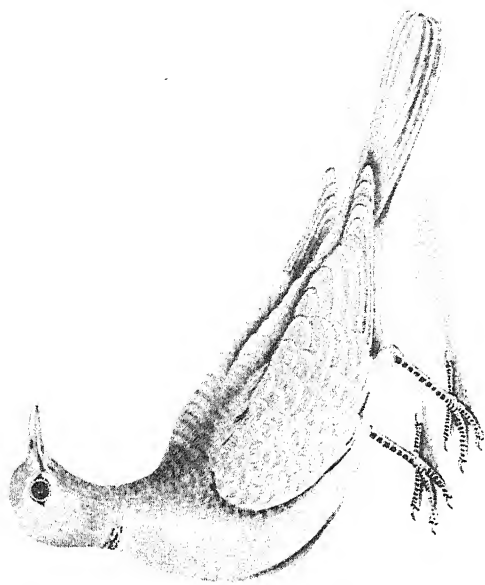


Plate 10

Writer's Collection

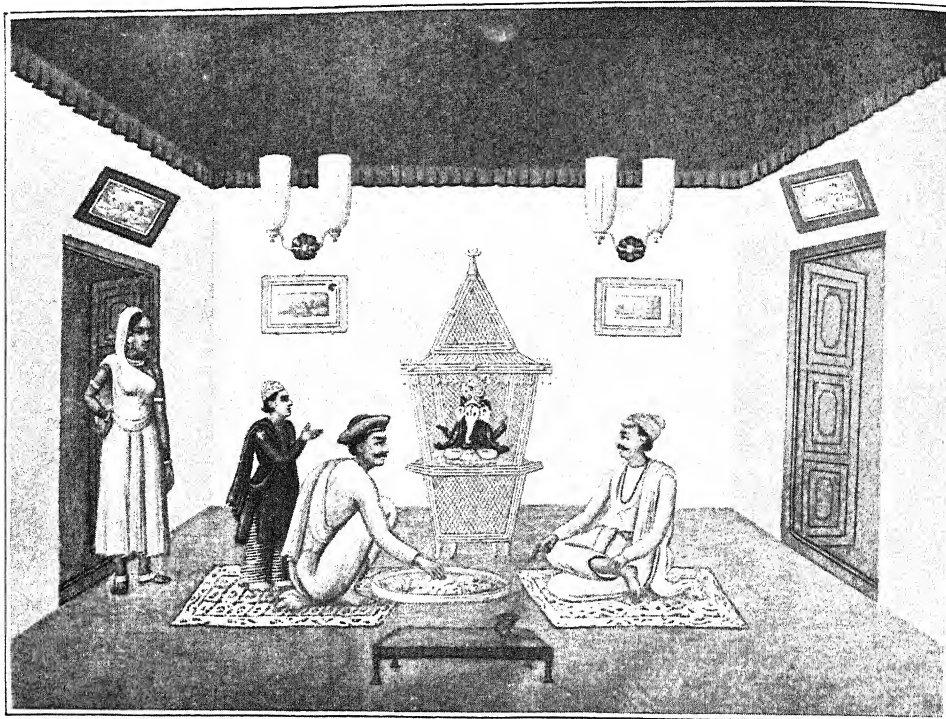


Plate 11.

Patna Museum

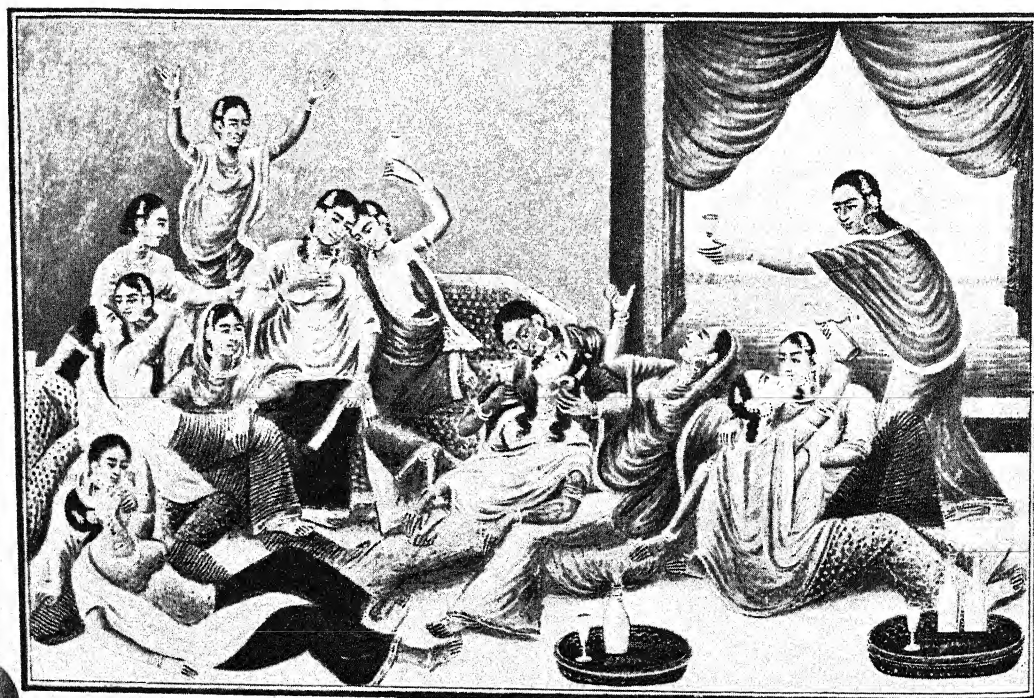
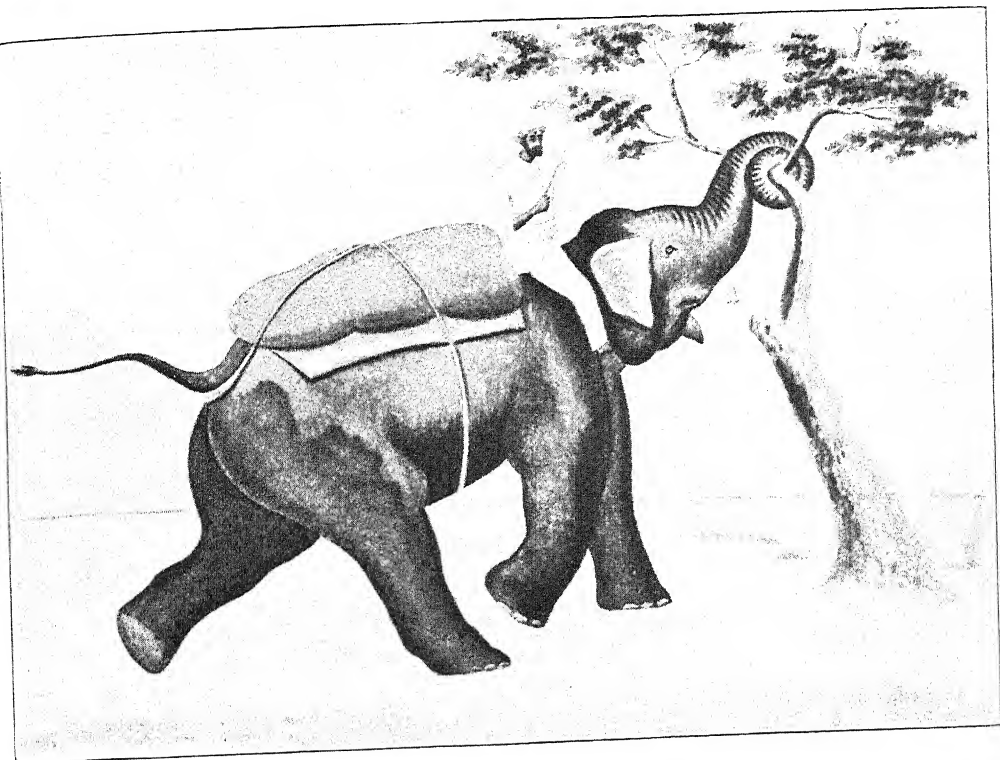


Plate 12.

Patna Museum



Patna Museum

Plate 13.



Writer's Collection

Plate 14.

IPDS 1042



Plate 22

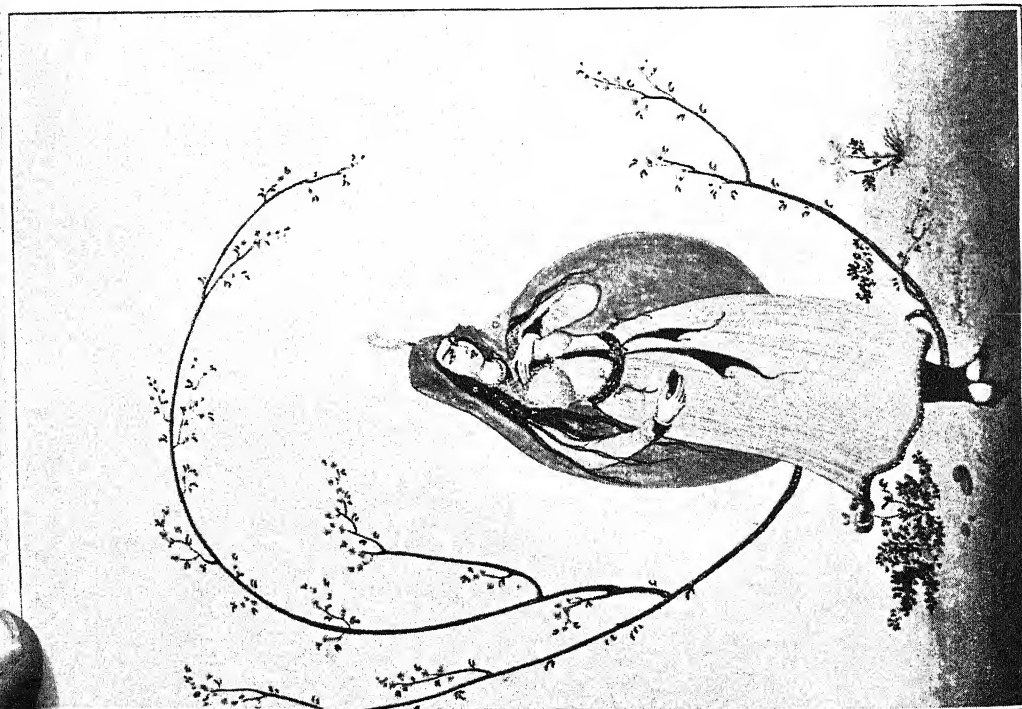
Writer's Collection
1912, 1913

Plate 21

Writer's Collection



Plate 15

Writer's Collection



Plate 16

Patna Museum



Plate 18

Patna Museum



Plate 17

Patna Museum

IPMS 1942

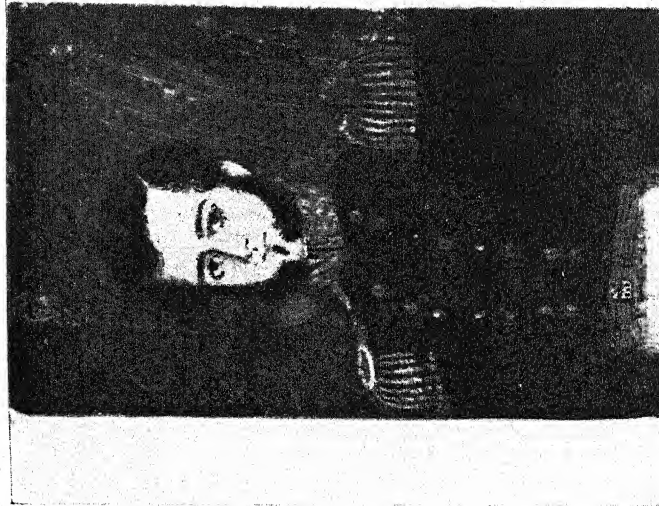


Plate 20

Patna Museum

Plate 19



Writer's Collection
JBRS 1943

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[PART IV

Leading Articles

A WASLI OF PRINCE KHURRAM

By S. A. SHERE

Some time before the writer was appointed Curator of the Patna Museum, in fact in 1934, a painting was acquired by the Museum¹ depicting an ascetic wearing a fur coat, leading a chained dog with his right hand and holding in his left a square flag which appears to have a written or embroidered inscription. He is accompanied by a boy disciple wearing only the proverbial 'langot' and a 'chādar' round his shoulders, and holding in his right hand an unidentifiable implement. The boy is bare footed while the ascetic wears a pair of sandals. The scene is set on a hill side with conventional rocks in the Chinese and Persian style in the background and rocks and shrubs and flowers in the foreground. A strong breeze is obviously blowing, as evidenced by the swaying of the fur coat and the 'chādar'. Altogether an admirable example of the Indo-Persian

¹ Patna Museum Art Register No. 565. The painting measures 6" X 3½".

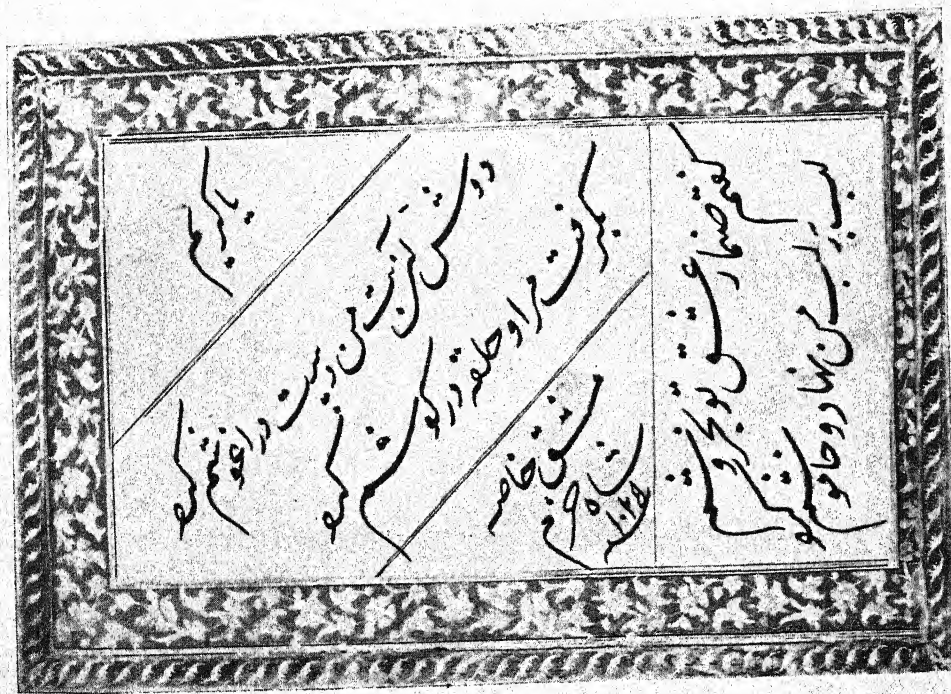
School of the 16th or possibly very early 17th Century A. D. The picture having been framed in a wooden frame was hung in the Art Gallery of the Museum. Under the Air Raid Precaution Scheme this picture, along with other valuable antiquities, was shifted for safe storage in May 1942 to a remote part of the Province of Bihar. In view of the climatic conditions of India, the President of the Managing Committee, Mr. P. C. Manuk, Barrister-at-law, directed the writer in March 1943 to undertake a tour to the places where the antiquities were stored to get the perishable exhibits aired and disinfected and also to get only important paintings photographed for our records and future reference. When the painting mentioned above was being examined, it was noticed with pleasant surprise that on the reverse was a panel of Persian calligraphy (7"×4") purporting to be by Prince Khurram, later known as Emperor Shah Jahan¹ and perhaps best known to history as the builder of the Taj, signed by the Prince and dated in the year 1025 A. H. (A.D. 1616-17).

So many of these old paintings of the Moghul period have fine examples of calligraphy on the

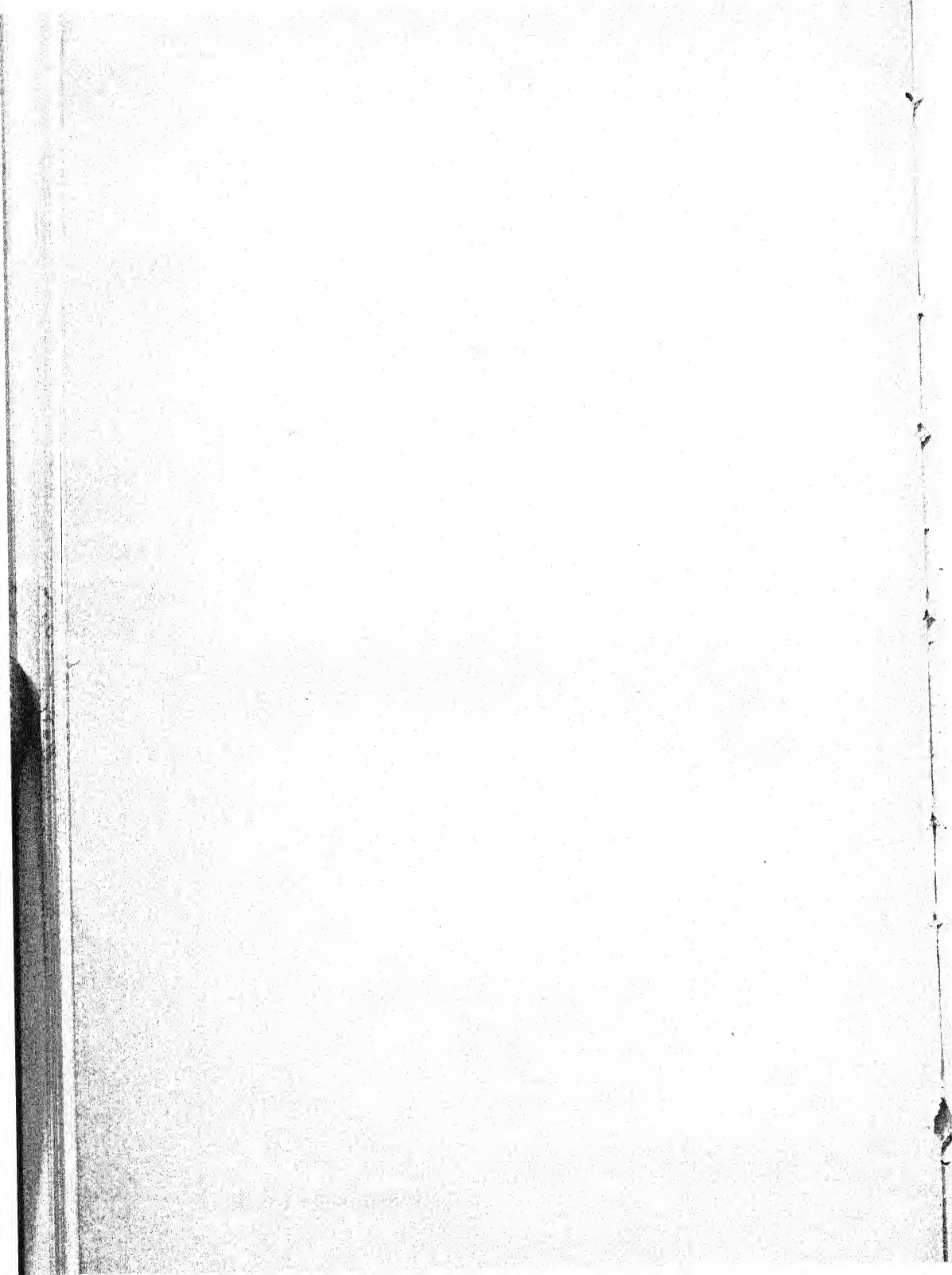
1. Besides other published autographs of the Emperor Shahjahan in the Shah-Namah of Firdausi (Laurence Binyon & Wilkinson,) etc., H. Blochmann has also published facsimiles of two autographs of the Emperor in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1870, facing page 270. The latter two autographs were written when Shahjahan was 37 and 57 years old according to the Hijra year. Our calligraphy was written when he was only 25 years of age. There is a remarkable similarity between them. There is also an unpublished manuscript, "Tuhfat-us-Salatin," (A present of kings) with an endorsement by the Emperor Shahjahan which I have had the advantage of examining in the unique collection of Mr. Manuk. It (autograph) is dated 1037 A. H.



Indo-Persian Painting. 17th Century A. D.
(Patna Museum)



Calligraphy by Prince Khurram (Shahjahan). 1025 A.H.-1616-17 A.D.
(Patna Museum).



reverse, frequently signed by a master and dated, that it appears to have been customary for collectors in those days to paste a piece of fine calligraphy on to the reverse of the mount of a fine painting. The manuscript on the reverse has generally no connection with the subject of the painting, and the reason for this practice was that master calligraphers were as highly esteemed as master painters, if not even more so. The border round our picture suggests that it was once part of an album, but not so the border of our calligraphy. Judging from the approximate date of the painting and the actual date attached to Prince Khurram's signature it would appear that the painting was first made and collected, and later the specimen of calligraphy was pasted on to its reverse.

Having regard to the distinguished writer, I thought it fit that this unique specimen of the Emperor Shahjahan's calligraphy while he was still Prince Khurram deserves publication after having remained hidden away so long; and with the kind permission of Mr. Manuk, President of the Managing Committee of the Patna Museum it is now reproduced and so is the picture. (*See Plate*)

It will be observed that within a conventional floral border we have four lines of verse on love and the supreme moment of life. The verses are of an extremely passionate order. The manuscript runs as follows :—

یا کریم

دوش آن بیت من دست در آغوشم کرد

بگرفت مرا و حلقه در گوشم کرد

مغتم منما ز عشق تو بخور شـم
لب بر لب من نهاد و خاموشـم کرد
مشـق خاصه
شاه خـم
۱۰۲۵
سـنه

which may be rendered into English thus :

O God !

Last night my love enclasped me,
Held me tight and (thus) enthralled me.
I groaned, "my love ! I am subjected to torture
on account of thy love"-

She put her lips on my lips and made me
speechless.

Exercise by a confidential friend
or

Special exercise by
Shah Khurram
1025 (A. H.)

I have been unable to trace the authorship of our verses to any of the well known lyrical poets of Persia so I am inclined to believe that these are original verses by prince Khurram himself ; and, if so, that would make the manuscript even more unique and interesting. If such is the case, it would appear at first sight that Prince Khurram was a gay young prince who indulged in sensual pleasures; but this first impression is hardly justified by what we know of him from indubitable contemporary records. For instance he had not defiled himself even with drinking wine until he was 24 years of age, *i. e.*, about one year prior to the date on our calligraphy. The incident can best be described in the graphic words of his own father, the Emperor

Jahangir. The occasion was, as Jahangir records in his Memoirs, one of the customary functions when the young Prince was weighed annually against coin of the realm which was distributed to the poor. On these occasions the young Prince also received gifts. A contemporary painting in the private collection of Mr. Manuk depicts such a scene with the young Prince on one of the scales and the Emperor Jahangir himself attended by all his great Court Officials supervising the ceremony, while a scribe keeps a tally of the coin on the other scale. Also a contemporary inscription at the top of the picture runs, when translated, as follows:—

“ All day long in the palace with Khurram
very pleased did the distribution take
place with joy and gladness.

And many of the presents received (by the
young Prince) were greatly admired ”.

The gift mentioned in the inscription are depicted in the foreground of the painting.

On the occasion that I have mentioned above when Prince Khurram first drank wine, his father addressed him as follows :—

“ Baba, thou hast become the father of children,
and Kings and Kings' sons have drunk wine. To-day,
which is the day of thy being weighed, I will give thee
wine to drink, and give thee leave to drink it on feast
days and at the time of the New Year and at all
great festivals. But thou must observe the path of

¹ Taken from the address delivered on “Indian Painting” by Mr. P. C. Manuk at the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society on the 24th March, 1942—see J. B. & O. R. S., Vol. XXVIII, part 1, March 1942, p. 19.

moderation, for wise men do not consider it right to drink to such an extent as to destroy the understanding, and it is necessary that from drinking only profit should be derived. Bu Ali (Avicenna), who is one of the most learned of hakims and physicians, has written the quatrain :—

‘Wine is a raging enemy, a prudent friend.

A little is an antidote, but much a snake’s
poison.

In much there is no little injury

In a little there is much profit.”

Jahangir then naively records that he himself did not drink wine until he was 15, almost as if he regretted the wasted years².

Now I propose to show that there is no reason to distrust either the authorship of the verses as that of Prince Khurram or the signature of the royal calligrapher.

Prince Khurram was born at Lahore in the 36th year of his grandfather Akbar’s reign on the 26th Dai³, corresponding to the 30th Rabi-ul-awwal, 1000 A. H. (5th January, 1592). A Rajput princess of Amber, daughter of Mota Raja, was his mother but it was Ruqqiah Begam, Akbar’s cousin and first wife who was childless, under whose fostering care the Prince was brought up. The Emperor Akbar christened the Prince “Khurram”⁴

¹ Memoirs of Jahangir (R. & B), p. 306.

² Taken from Mr. P. C. Manuk’s address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society on the 7th April 1943.

³ Abul Fazal, Akbarnamah, p. 921.

⁴ Dr. B. P. Saxena, ‘History of Shahjahan of Dihli’, p. 2.

which means, 'cheerful, pleasant, joyous', etc. It is strikingly interesting that as he was born in the tenth month (Dai) of the Ilahi year, the grandfather, ingenious as he was, most probably named him after the name of the tenth solar month which was also Khurram.¹

Khurram started his education when he was only four years four months and four days old, and read under a host of renowned teachers. He soon became well versed in Arabic and Persian and attained mastery over the latter language. Placed as he was, he had great opportunities to see the works of the illustrious artists and calligraphers of the Courts of Akbar and Jahangir, which further helped him to acquire a taste for these compositions and to imbibe the spirit of the age. With his literary acumen he himself achieved mastery over the art of writing in Nastaliq character². The art of writing, according to Abul Fazal, the Court historian of Akbar, was more important than the art of painting³ and the Calligrapher-prince as an ardent lover of Art continued to bestow royal favours on the artists of his Court when he succeeded his father as Emperor of India at the age of 37 in the year 1037 A. H. On the great calligrapher Abdul Rasheed of Dailam better known

¹ F. Steingass, Persian English Dictionary, p. 456. It is hardly possible to agree with the opinion of Lt. Col. James Tod that, "Khoorum was son of a Rajput princess of Amber, of the Cutchwaha tribe, and hence his name was probably Kooram, synonymous to Cutchwa a tortoise".—see Annals & Antiquities of Rajasthan, p. 291 note.

² The Tadhkira-i-Khusnavisan, Bib. Ind. Pers. Text., p. 91.

³ Abul Fazal, 'Ain-i-Akbari' (Blochmann), p. 97.

as Aqa Rasheed he conferred the distinction of appointing him tutor to his son Dara Shikoh.¹ His special interest in this art may be gauged from the fact that he was so impressed with the calligraphy of Mir. Imad-ul-Husaini of Qazvin, who lived in the reign of Shah Abbas of Persia, that whosoever presented the Emperor in the early years of his reign with an example of that illustrious calligrapher's art was rewarded with a mansab of 100 horse². Among the renowned calligraphers of his reign mention may be made of Mulla Baqar of Kashmere, Muhammad Husain of Kashmere, Maqsood Ali, Mir Muhammad Kashi, Hafiz Abdullah, Shukrullah and Muhammad Muqim all of whom attained high perfection in their art and under the Imperial patronage became famous for their skill in Nastaliq, Taliq, Naskh and Shikasta³.

There is therefore abundant evidence that the young Prince was himself well versed in calligraphy and must have taken pleasure in practising that art himself. So we are on sure ground in assuming that he was capable of writing the Persian script with the penmanship which our piece discloses. Although it cannot of course compare with the penmanship of the great masters such as those mentioned above or the two Mir Alis, one of Tabrez (died A. H. 803) and the other of Herat who lived

1 The Tadhkira-i-Khushnavisan, Bib. Ind. Pers. Text, p. 95.

2 Ibid. p. 93. When the Emperor "Jahangir heard of the death of Mir Imad, he is said to have wept for grief, exclaiming that if Shah Abbas had sent him to me I would have paid his weight in pearls for him"—see Percy Brown's Indian Painting under the Mughals, p. 33.

3 Ibid. p. 91.

into Akbar's reign, both of whom are mentioned by contemporary writers, the penmanship of our piece is definitely good.

Now, the scribe of our calligraphy signs his name as خرم. It will be noticed that the spelling of the name is not 'خورم' which has been incorrectly used by many writers when referring to this Prince. This is by itself some evidence against at any rate forgery of the Prince's signature. But more important evidence is furnished from the historical aspect by the title 'Shah' attached to the name Khurram in the manuscript with the date 1025 Hijra, because there is complete evidence that in that very year 1025 A. H. the title of Shah was conferred on Prince Khurram by his father, a fact which would probably escape the notice of a forger. In the eleventh year of Emperor Jahangir's reign *i. e.*, 1025 A. H. he sent the Prince to the conquest of the Deccan, after recalling Prince Parvez, Khurram's elder brother, as Parvez had proved a failure both as a general and an administrator. The Emperor remarks, "the signs of rectitude and knowledge of affairs were evident in him"¹. (Khurram). It was on this occasion that Jahangir conferred on Khurram the title of Shah, which no Timurid Prince had previously received. It was a unique distinction to style a Prince as a Shah in the lifetime of a ruling Sovereign. So we find the Emperor adding, "of the distinguished favours bestowed on the aforesaid son one was the title of Shah, which was made a part of his name"². Moreover,

¹ Memoirs of Jahangir (R & B), p. 329.

² Ibid. p 338.

this distinction was well merited because Khurram had already proved himself an able general in the campaign in Mewar. It therefore appears conclusive that the writer of our calligraphy was none other than the newly created Shah Khurram in 1025 A. H.

Incidentally, we are in a position to fix the approximate time in 1025 A. H. that this was written. The Emperor speaking about his son's departure says, "the time for the leave-taking of Baba Khurram had been fixed on Friday, the 20th Aban. At the end of this day he paraded before me the pick of his men armed and ready in the public hall of audience"¹. The 20th Aban corresponds to the last day of Shawwal 1025 A. H., so this calligraphy must have been written in one of the last two months of that year, *viz.*, Zilqādh or Zilhijjah.

Having regard to the highly passionate Persian verses in our 'Wasli' it may be interesting to investigate a little further whether Shah Khurram merely transcribed the verses of a lyrical poet or composed them himself. Apart from the fact, as I have already had occasion to mention, that I have been unable to trace these verses to any of the works of likely Persian poets, I have had the advantage of examining many 'Waslis' in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Library at Patna and also in the even more extensive collection of such 'Waslis' in Mr. P. C. Manuk's possession and I find that calligraphers sometimes merely transcribe well known Persian verses from one of the classical poets but also very frequently composed their own verses,

giving free-play to their own inspired imagery by comparing the beloved to the lily or the swaying cypress or the softness of the moon and so forth. Complaints of the trouble caused to the writer by the absence of the beloved or by the beautiful vision of the beloved are not infrequent in these 'Waslis', signed or unsigned. It is therefore not improbable that a highly educated and cultured prince like Shah Khurram was familiar with this practice and indulged on this occasion in imitating it.

Apart from this general reasoning, let us now see if there was any such incident in his life at or about this time which may have inspired this passionate outburst. By 1025 A. H. (A. D. 1616-17), *i. e.*, the year of this calligraphy, the Prince had already been married twice. In 1610 he had been married¹ to a Persian Princess, the daughter of Mirza Mozaffer Hussain Safavi, a lineal descendant of Shah Ismail of Persia; and in 1612 he married the niece of Nur Jahan, a year after the Emperor Jahangir had made Nur Jahan his Empress. In 1617 he contracted a third marriage in the Deccan with the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan² son of the famous Abdur Raheem Khan, Khan Khanan³ a

1 Mr. Percy Brown has published in his 'Indian painting under the Moghuls', facing page 137, a picture of the celebrations at the marriage of Prince Khurram.

2 Dr. B. P. Saxena in his 'History of Shahjahan of Dihli' Index, p. 370, incorrectly mentions that Emperor Aurangzeb married the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan, son of Abdur Raheem Khan, Khan Khanan. Emperor Aurangzeb's father-in-law, Shah Nawaz Khan, was Mirza Rustam's son.

3 Khan Khanan presented to Jahangir in 1019 A. H. a copy of Jami's Yusuf Zalikha in the handwriting of Mir Ali which was valued for one thousand gold mohurs.—see Memoirs of Jahangir (R & B), p. 168 & note. The manuscript is said to be in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Library, Patna.

very great and politically influential officer of the Court of Jahangir. Prince Khurram came to Burhanpur on the 6th March, 1617 and married this third wife in the Deccan on the 23rd August, 1617¹. It is a matter of record that the Khan Khanan along with other officers had gone to welcome Shah Khurram on the banks of the Narbada² in the course of the Prince's march to the Deccan and before he entered Burhanpur, the seat of the governor of the Province of Khandesh. Remembering the close approximation of the two dates *i. e.*, the date of the 'Wasli' and the date of the arrival on the banks of the Narbada, it is not improbable that he had met or at any rate seen his future bride with her grandfather, which inspired the composition of our verses.

Further more, when signing the 'Wasli', Shah Khurram writes 'مشق خاصة'. The word 'خاصة' has two distinct meanings relevant in the context, one is 'especially, chiefly', the other is 'confidential friend'. The word 'مشق' means 'exercise' and it would seem superfluous to link it with 'خاصة' to render the two words when translated as 'chief or special exercise'. On the other hand, Khurram who was a scholar of distinction may have used the words 'مشق خاصة' in the sense of an 'exercise by a confidential friend' who signs it below. In this way he may have thought to tone down what might otherwise be a too passionate outburst hardly in keeping with royal dignity.

¹ Dr. P. B. Saxena, 'History of Shahjahan of Dihli', p. 14.

² Ibid. p. 21.

Perhaps also he thought of thus making it clear that the exercise was dedicated to the new beloved and meant only for her eyes.

Incidentally it may be mentioned that in none of the 'Waslis' which I have had the advantage of examining, have I found this peculiar phrase مشق خاصه prefixed to the signature of the calligrapher, and Mr. Manuk informs me that he cannot remember any example of a signature prefixed by this phrase in any of his examples.

For all the reasons given above I believe I am justified in concluding that the writing in this 'Wasli' is undoubtedly that of Shah Khurram, later the Emperor Shahjahan, and also that he may well have been the author of the verses.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF ASSAM IN 1826.

By BHUPESH CHANDRA MUKHERJI

The story of the consolidation of British rule in Assam has been told by previous writers like Gait and Robinson. The present paper is mainly based on unpublished records preserved in the Imperial Record Office, New Delhi and seeks to throw some light on the first attempt of the Company's officers to introduce good government in the Brahmaputra Valley.

A brief narration of the incidents that preceded the Anglo-Burmese War will perhaps bear recapitulation. The British Government came into intimate contact with Assam for the first time when Lord Cornwallis sent Captain Welsh to restore order and tranquility in Gaurinath Singh's kingdom (Sept. 1792). That gallant officer's efforts to restore political and economic equilibrium in Assam could not bear fruit; for the policy of non-intervention inaugurated by Sir John Shore led to his recall less than two years later (July, 1794)¹. The result, in Assam, was disastrous. All centrifugal tendencies, so tactfully kept in restraint by Captain Welsh, reappeared; intrigue, confusion and anarchy reigned supreme everywhere; phantom princes began to appear and depart across the stage of history with amazing rapidity; and

1 Political consultations, May 19, 1794, No. I.

life and property became considerably unsafe. Yet, the British Government in Bengal remained isolated and neutral, and was insensible to these grave developments on the eastern frontier of Bengal. At last the appearance of the Burmese forced their hands. In response to the short-sighted appeals of rival Assamese chiefs, the ambitious king of Burma came into the scene, and overran almost the whole of Assam, threatening the Dacca, Mymensingh, and Rangpur Districts of Bengal¹. This threat to north-eastern Bengal was soon followed by Burmese aggressions on the south-eastern frontier (*i.e.* Chittagong). Lord Amherst's anxiety to keep the British frontiers safe led to the First Anglo-Burmese War, and to the eventual defeat and withdrawal of the Burmese from Assam (1826). By the treaty of Yandabo the king of Burma relinquished his claims over Assam, and agreed to abstain from all interference in the affairs of Cachar, Jaintia and Manipur.

Now there remained the supreme task of reconstructing the Government of Assam, and restoring order in place of chaos. The administrative, agrarian and commercial problems of Assam demanded the immediate attention of a tactful statesman, capable of grappling with the situation.

1 Political consultations, July 26, 1822, No. 51; David Scott to the Secretary to the Govt. in the Political Department, July 10, 1822. Scott says, "The Burmese have now taken in (*sic*) complete possession of Assam and reduced it to the state of a province of the empire having set aside the royal family.....The whole of Dacca, Mymensingh, Rungpore and Nellore (?) Districts are evidently at the mercy of the same power".

Such an officer was found in David Scott. In recognition of his services as joint Magistrate of Rangpur in 1823, he had already been appointed Agent to the Governor-General for the whole eastern frontier from Cachar and Sylhet in the south, to Sikkim in the north¹. "The name and fame of David Scott are still green on the North-East Frontier. He was one of those remarkable men who have from time to time been the ornament of our Indian services. Had the scene of his labours been in North-West or Central India, where the great problem of Empire was then being worked out, he would occupy a place in history by the side of Malcolm, Elphinstone and Metcalfe."² The reconstruction of Assam was based mainly on his comprehensive suggestions.

Politically Assam was divided into two regions, Upper and Lower Assam. The Company was to take direct possession of Lower Assam as far as Bishnath, on the north side of the Brahmaputra, and the Dhunisree River on the south³; in other words, the region included in the Districts of Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang and Nowgong⁴. Upper Assam,

¹ Letter No. I, Nov. 14, 1823, from the Secretary to the Supreme Government to David Scott.

² *North-Eastern Frontier of Bengal*—Sir Alexander Mackenzie, quoted in Gait, *History of Assam*, second edition, P. 296.

³ Secret consultations, July 14, 1826, No. 2, Para. 18.

⁴ Gait is not quite clear in regard to the division of Assam into separate regions. He simply says "with the exception, therefore, of two districts in Upper Assam, *viz*, Sadiya and Matak, it was decided, for a time at least, to administer the country as a British province."—Gait, P. 290.

i. e., the Sibsagar and Lakhimpur Districts, with the exception of certain lands on the eastern frontier, was made over to Purandar Singh¹, an Ahom prince, on condition of his paying an annual subsidy of Rs. 2,00,000 as the price of protection afforded by the Company. He was further required to spend a half of his revenues on works of defence of the country including the construction of a fortified capital and the maintenance of a militia². Local autonomy under the Company was given to the Moamarias of Matak³ under their commander, the Bar Senapati, and to the people of Sadiya under their chief, the Sadiya Khowa Gohain⁴. The Bar Senapati executed a treaty⁵ with the Company in May, 1826, in which it was provided that he should supply to the Government two-thirds of the total number of his Paiks⁶. This arrangement did not work well and gave rise to complications which ultimately led to a reshuffling of the relations of the Senapati and the British Government. The Sadiya Khowa Gohain was not required to pay any tribute, but he agreed to maintain a small force as a protective measure against the restless tribes inhabiting the surrounding hills⁷.

¹ Purandar Singh came into actual possession of his territories in 1833. This delay was caused by the vacillating policy of the Bengal Government.

² Secret consultations, July 14, 1826, No. 2, Para. 19.

³ Matak country lies to the South of Sadiya in the angle between the Brahmaputra and the Burhi Dihing Rivers.

⁴ Secret consultations, July 14, 1826, No. 2, Para. 20.

⁵ Gait, P. 291.

⁶ Foot soldiers.

⁷ Gait, P. 292.

A similar arrangement was also made with the Singpho tribes, and this will be discussed below.

The division of Assam into two compartments was an easy matter as Lower Assam had a long historical connection with the Government of Bengal of which she actually formed a part on a number of previous occasions. But the task of devising a machinery of Government for the people of Upper Assam,—a people, who had suffered untold miseries in the hands of capricious and despotic rulers, and avaricious and oppressive chiefs,—was no easy matter. David Scott, now Agent to the Company in Assam, rose to the occasion with great skill and devised a system of administration which speaks of the shrewdness of the man, and yet, was essentially based on the principles of Government adopted by the Ahoms themselves¹. David Scott

1. "The monarch was the first executive officer and presided over the Government of the state. He was not owner of the soil but could alienate lands.....all uncultivated lands were at his disposal.....The aristocracy or the Patra-Muntri, was composed of the three Gohains and the two Prime Ministers of the state. The three Gohains were the Bar Patra Gohain, the Bar Gohain, and the Boorah Gohain. They were permanent and hereditary councillors of the state, little inferior to the monarch in rank....They proclaimed the monarch and could depose him in the instance of incapacity or great delinquency. On provinces allotted to each, they exercised most of the independent rights of sovereignty. In the event of delinquency a Gohain might be removed from his office by the monarch with the concurrence of two Gohains....The Prime Ministers or the Muntri were the Bar Barua and the Bar Phukan. Their offices were not hereditary, but they were chosen from four families....The ministers were removable at the monarch's pleasure, with the concurrence of

was aware of the defects of the system of Subsidiary Alliances, in which, for the absence of any constitutional check upon the internal administration of the states seeking alliance, grave miscarriage of justice and gross oppression of people very frequently resulted. Accordingly, he repudiated the Subsidiary System which obtained in other parts of India, and offered Assam the status of what may be called a dependent ally, and her relations with the British Government were defined as follows: ".....The protecting state, as guardian of the constitution might assume, and continue to maintain its proper character, without on the one hand abandoning the interests of the people to the mere will of a weak or tyrannical master, or exercising, on the other, an undue influence and vexatious interference in the administration of the internal Government of the dependent sovereign, that must deprive him of respectability in the eyes of his subjects, and ultimately alienate him from our interests".

With the establishment of an Ahom prince in Upper Assam, the Patra-Mantri, or the Grand Council of the former days was resuscitated, and its powers, with certain modifications, were recognised

the Gohains. The Bar Barua commanded the forces, received revenues and administered the justice of the upper provinces.The Bar Phukan's office was considered of higher importance....Twenty men were commanded by a Barua, one hundred by a Khotika, one thousand by a Hazari, three thousand by a Raj Koar and six thousand by a Phukan....". Political consultations, Feb. 24, 1794, No. 13 (A).

1 Secret consultations, July 14, 1826, No 2, Para. 7.

and confirmed¹. The powers of the crown were now however strictly defined, so that on no account there might be any conflict with the Patra-Mantri. The king was not given the power to act without the concurrence of at least two members of the Patra-Mantri, one of them a Gohain. If the powers of the crown were curtailed so that Upper Assam became a 'limited' monarchy², those of the Patra-Mantri were also not allowed to grow. For quite a long time to come, the Government of Bengal took up the task of appointing and removal of these Councillors³. Besides the Patra-Mantri, which exercised a useful check upon the powers of the crown, and which was in a way a standing council, a general assembly of old was also revived and reorganised. This was called the Bar Mela⁴, in which affairs touching the general interest of the people were discussed; and to this assembly all

1 Secret consultations, July 14, 1826, No. 2, Para. 5.

2 Gait appears to hold that the Ahom kingship was absolute though the Gohains and the Baruas enjoyed wide powers. S. C. Rajkhowa, however, writing in the journal of the Assam Research Society, Vol. IX, 1942 (January and April), P. 32, refutes Gait's contention, and, on the authority of the Buranji Vivekaratna, tries to establish that the Ahom constitution was a limited monarchy. It is perhaps true that the powerful and hereditary nobility of Assam used to exercise an uncertain amount of check upon the arbitrary powers of the crown; but the disintegration of Ahom rule, and the internal disorders and external invasions in the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries produced widespread chaos and probably removed all checks upon the crown, so that in the period under review, powers of the crown, were practically unlimited.

3 Secret consultations, July 14, 1826, No. 2, Para. 5.

4 Secret consultations, July 14, 1826, No. 2, Para. 6.

officials of the state down to the grade of Sonkeea (Saikia ?) were eligible. The full advantage derivable from such an institution could not reasonably be expected to be appreciated until the spread of education made these officials equal to the trust reposed in them. It was therefore decided to enforce a minimum educational and literary qualification for all persons who would serve in the various public offices.

In readjusting the revenue and judicial affairs of Assam, David Scott pursued the policy of least resistance, and thereby inculcated the principle of retaining as much as possible the existing institutions, only removing their defects. British officers were appointed as stop-gap heads of departments to train up the native officers in their respective spheres with a view to eventually transferring the administration of justice to the people of Assam themselves.¹ In consequence of the great changes that had taken place in Assam of late years, and at the request of native officers engaged in judicial and revenue work, a fresh enumeration of the Paiks was made, and a new allotment of land² for their maintenance decreed.³ A commission of three Assamese of rank with the requisite establishment of *Mohurrihs*⁴ was appointed to perform these duties of enumeration, and a sum of three thousand rupees was sanctioned as emolument for these officers for the honest discharge of their duties. The

1 Secret consultations, July 7, 1826, No. 31, Para. 5.

2 Called "Peel" (?)

3 Secret consultations, July 7, 1826, No. 31, Para 4.

4 Assistants

salaries fixed for officers in different departments were somewhat higher than in the corresponding grades in Bengal, obviously for the fact that the people of Assam were generally incompetent, and consequently, officers had to be borrowed from Bengal and elsewhere.¹

In Lower Assam the Bar Phukan was deprived of his revenue and judicial powers which he hitherto enjoyed as Viceroy of Gauhati under the Ahom rule. The judicial system of Bengal was introduced, and revenue and judicial establishments were placed at the disposal of an Assamese *Sheristadar*, directly responsible to the Company. In regard to the administration of revenue, it was considered inadvisable to effect radical changes. The only departure from the past was the imposition of a poll tax of three rupees per Paik in lieu of his personal services for three or four months in the year. The task of collecting this tax was entrusted to the old Khel officials, who soon changed the tax from a personal to a regional basis.² This is the indigenous Khelwari System of Assam.

1. Secret consultations, July 7, 1826, No. 31, Para. 4; The Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction (1838-39), P. 70, corroborates this, and mentions:—"The duties of the Public offices were nearly all carried on by natives of Sylhet and Rungpore, and the old families were losing all influence in their own province, from the pride of ignorance which considers learning as a mean accomplishment".

2. The poll tax was soon abandoned in favour of a regular assessment based on actual measurement of soil. "The revenue of Kamarup, Darrang and Nowgong under the Khelwari System amounted in 1832-33 only to Rs. 1,10,181, Rs. 41,506 and Rs. 31,509 respectively. Ten years later, the land revenue system which replaced it, amounted to Rs. 2,52,991 in Kamrup, Rs. 1,35,454 in Darrang and Rs. 1,10,314 in Nowgong" Gait, P. 295.

In Upper Assam the collection of revenue was placed under the general supervision of the Bar Barua, Janardan¹, 'a man of rank and substance', and connected with the royal family of Assam. In the administration of justice, the Bar Phukan was invested with controlling authority, and in this important office a person named Lambodar, a man of character and integrity, was appointed². A monthly salary of three hundred rupees was granted to him in lieu of the wide jagirs he formerly held as Viceroy of Gauhati. A very remarkable feature of the judicial system was the creation of "standing committees³, consisting of various officers of the state and Pundits for decisions in civil suits". These officers were 'always in attendance upon the supreme authority for the time being', and had 'little business in their own departments to occupy their time'⁴. The novelty of the committees lay in the inclusion of nearly *all* officers of the state. The precise nature of their duties is not, however, quite clear.

Minor criminal cases were either locally decided, or taken up for decision by the Bar Phukan. In criminal cases of heinous nature, trials were to take place before jurors⁵ especially summoned to perform their duties from among the people of Assam. The Bar Phukan was, however, 'to act as president, and one of the commissioners to

¹ Secret consultations, July 7, 1826, No. 31.

² Secret consultations, July 7, 1826, No. 31, Para. 6.

³ Secret consultations, July 7, 1826, No. 31, Para. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

superintend,' in all such cases.¹ The Jury were to decide the guilt or innocence of the parties, and punishment was to be inflicted by the 'superintending Commissioner' according to the sanctions of British Criminal Law². But in view of the inefficiency and incompetence of the jurors on account of their lack of education and want of political training, wide reservations were secured for reversing erroneous verdicts of jurors, and for bringing cases of appeal to the Nizamat Adalat³ which, perhaps, served for Assam the purpose of the High Court of Criminal Judicature. Judicially Assam is even at present an appanage of Bengal, and is subject to the authority of the High Court of Calcutta.

David Scott had a soft corner for the struggling and declining nobility of Assam. Due to political upheavals of that time and continued misrule and oppression of the past, many respectable families in Assam were without adequate provision for subsistence, and at this period of transition, practically on the verge of ruin. David Scott recommended them generous allowances and a fixed number of Paiks⁴, so that they might maintain their station in society.⁵ Among the persons who thus received liberal bounties from the British Government, were 'the ex-officers of the state, Brahmins, learned Pundits

1 *Ibid.*

2 *Ibid.*

3 Secret consultations, July 7, 1826, No. 31, Para 6.

4 Aristocracy in Assam was measured by the number of Paiks or foot soldiers the aristocrat possessed.

5 Secret consultations, July 7, 1826, No. 31, Para. 8.

and the spiritual teachers of the multitude, together with the families of deceased men of rank and the relations of the princes who have at different times ruled the country¹. The aristocracy in Assam was thus saved from imminent extinction ; whether the institution was a necessity, and capable of rendering productive service to the state, was little thought of at the moment.

The refractory Singpho² chiefs of the eastern frontier of Assam readily acquiesced in the supremacy of the British Government. The credit of subduing these marauders goes entirely to Lieutenant Neufville, who by his forays into their territory, struck terror into their hearts and compelled them to submit. A strong garrison under Lieutenant Neufville was posted on this frontier to check the future misdoing of these miscreants³. But expediency demanded that something more constructive than mere military control should be offered to the Singphos in order to convert them into a peace-loving people. David Scott considered it politic to invest one or two of the Singpho chiefs with authority over the rest, so that the acquisition of power would make them responsible men. Thus the recognised chief of the Singphos would be almost equal in status to the Bar Senapati in Matak, and

1 *Ibid.*

2 The Singphos occupied the level tract extending eastwards from the Matak country. Their importance was that they commanded the Patkoi Pass—the only accessible pass between Burma and Assam.

3 Secret consultations, July 14, 1826, No. 9, Para. 17.

the Sadiya Khowa Gohain in Sadiya. This device would also maintain a rough balance of power among the potentates of Upper Assam. The Gam of Beesa was the person who received this distinction¹. David Scott wanted also to utilize the services of the Singphos for stimulating the trade and commerce of Assam. The Singphos were not an agricultural people. They used to possess enormous number of slaves, who relieved their masters from attending to the cultivation of the soil, and thereby enabled them to become the carriers of trade between Burma and Assam². Now the Singphos were deprived of their slaves who instantly got their emancipation; and a great social evil was thus removed³. But some ostensible means of livelihood had to be given to the Singphos which would be compatible with their past habits, and at the same time, profitable to the Company. Thus facilities were granted to them for reviving the defunct trade with the East, and re-establishing commercial intercourse between Assam and the Eastern countries, under the protection of the Company⁴. European manufactures would find excellent markets in Assam and beyond. Murshidabad silk could be easily grown in, and exported from Assam, and David Scott was 'of opinion that it would be worth while to establish this trade by Government'⁵. "Amongst other advantages which would attend the

1 Secret consultations, July 14, 1826, No. 9, Para. 5.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*

5 Secret consultations, July 14, No. 9, Para. 7.

establishment of a traffic in European manufactures in this quarter, it appears to me (David Scott) that it would probably operate more powerfully in practice than any mere commercial treaty to prevent the Burmese Government from exacting high duties on the importation or subsequent transit of such commodities to the upper part of the Irrawady, and the extensive region inhabited by the Shyam (Shan?) and Singpho tribes, who seem to be deficient neither in the inclination nor means to use them"¹. The prosperity of Assam silk industry dates perhaps from this period. With the readjustment of Assam's relations with the British East India Company in 1826, a policy of systematic exploitation of the rich resources of Assam for the promotion of her industry and trade commenced.

The Company, acting on the suggestions of David Scott, settled the affairs of Assam in 1826 in the above manner. It is curious that in spite of the best efforts of the Company, this settlement proved unworkable, and had therefore to be abandoned in favour of complete annexation of Assam before long. Surely it had certain unmistakable anomalies and drawbacks for which it proved a failure.

The statesmen in England who directed the Indian policy of the Company, and who were perhaps alarmed at the latter's interference in Indian politics, considered it unwise on the part of the Company to entangle itself in the domestic matters of the Indian states. The reconstruction of the

¹ Secret consultations, July 14, No. 9, Para. 8.

administration and institutions of Assam in 1826 naturally betrays the lukewarmness of the Company to assume direct responsibility for the Government of that country. Hence the arrangement was a mere makeshift, in which there were partly British, and partly native elements which worked at variance. Purandar Singh, the new monarch of Upper Assam, and the other autonomous chiefs had no substantial power at their disposal. The old Ahom council known as the Patra-Mantri was revived in order to furnish an effective check on the powers of the monarch; the councillors in their turn, were merely suffered to exist; for on alleged incompetence, they were not allowed much initiative either. They were to be appointed and dismissed not by the monarch, as in the days of old Ahom rule, but by the British Government. Purandar Singh, apparently invested with the paraphernalia of royalty, was in fact, not an ally, but practically a vassal of the British Government. The position of other chiefs was further circumscribed. British officers were appointed, in most cases, to positions of trust and responsibility, and appeals were carried to the Nizamat Adalat of Bengal. Finally, there were the Agent to the British Government for Assam, and the Commissioners, who were apparently nowhere in the picture, and yet, were ultimately responsible for the Government of entire Upper Assam. In consequence of the presence of so many diverse elements, administration of Assam became quite a complex affair. Under the circumstances, no Government could have been successful, and one should not blame Purandar Singh if he failed to coalesce

three conflicting policies in his administration,—the one dictated by the Agent, the other prompted by the councillors, and the third advanced by himself. The division of Assam into unnatural parts, and the creation of ill-defined jurisdictions, were anomalies which could not survive long, and led to the ultimate annexation of Assam.

David Scott might have congratulated himself as the saviour of the aristocracy of Assam, but the wisdom of his policy may as well be doubted. Formerly, the aristocrats had their utility. The nobles had a conspicuous place in the Ahom constitution and were important functionaries of the state, inferior only to the monarch in rank and power. They possessed land, and functioned as judges and magistrates in their respective territories. Now, however, a hereditary nobility was no longer needed to hold these positions of trust and responsibility. Hence the restored nobility of Assam became a class of parasites, occupying an absolutely sinecure position, and enjoying the unearned increment of the land. The creation of an artificial aristocracy, and clothing it with privileges were prejudicial to the development of a healthy social life in Assam. It was soon realised that the only remedy for all these administrative difficulties and social inequities lay in the complete annexation of Assam.

Miscellaneous Articles
VĪRA VAIRĀGĪ LASKARĪ.

By

THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE S. P. VARMA
AND D. S. TRIVEDA.

ITS IMPORTANCE.

The Vīra or Pīr Vairāgī Laskarī is an obscure and little known sect of the Vaiṣṇavas who took up arms for the defence of the country and religion. The scholars and the public know hardly anything about this rare sect of which only five important monasteries exist in the province of Bihar and only one outside it. The difficulty arises due to the fact that much of the Vaiṣṇava literature of northern India is yet unexplored and one has to rely only on verbal traditions and such other late references as may be available. While talking to a mendicant it was discovered that it is really Vīra and not Pīr Vairāgī. It seems that the mistake has arisen due to the similarity of the letters V and P in the Kaithī script of Hindi literature. The word Pīr would suggest some Muslim influence over the culture and literature of the Vaiṣṇavas but, in fact, there is no justification to connect it with any of the Pīrs. The importance of the sect lies in the fact that though the Vaiṣṇavas in general are the strict followers of non-violence or

Ahiṃsā yet a sect of them did not hesitate to take up the sword, when necessity arose, for the defence of the country and religion.

KINDS OF VAIṢṆAVAS.

The Vaiṣṇavas may be classed under four heads¹ :—

Śrī of	Brahma of	Rūdra of	Sanaka of
Rāmānuja	Madhvācārya	Viṣṇusvāmin ²	Nimbārka
(1016-1137)	(1198-1276)	(Early XVth C.)	(1056 ?-1162)
Rāmānanda	Caitanya	Vallabha	Harivyāsadeva
(1299-1411)	(1486-1533)	(C. 1479-1521)	(Circa 1750 A. D.)

The first four Ācāryas propagated their doctrines in the south and the last four in northern India. Except Rāmānuja and his so-called disciple Rāmānanda, the others are credited to have been the devotees of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa.

RĀMĀNANDA AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

Rāmānanda was born³ of Puṇyasadana and Suśilā at Prayāga in a Kānyakubja Brahmin family in Kali Era 4400=1299 A.D. According to all accounts he was in the line of disciples of Rāmānuja⁴. He began a radical reform and made no distinction between Brahmins and members of degraded castes⁵, and all could even dine together, provided

1. Introduction to Śrīvaiṣṇavamātābjabhāskara (a poem of 192 stanzas) of Rāmānanda, Ed. by Pt. Ram Tahal Das of Ayodhya, 1984 V. S., p. 2.

2. Viṣṇusvāmīn's Riddle by Amarnath Ray, Annals of the Bhandarkar O. R. I., Vol XIV pp. 161-81.

3. Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems, by R. G. Bhandarkar, B. O. R. I., Poona, 1928, pp. 72-88.

4. Ibid. p. 94.

5. Cf. स्त्रीशूद्रद्विजातीनां त्रयी न श्रुतिगोचरा and the Gītā IX. 32. स्त्रियो वैश्यास्तथा शूद्रास्तेऽपि यान्ति परां गतिम् ॥

they were the devotees of Viṣṇu and had been admitted into the fold. Another reform was the use of the vernaculars for the propagation of the new creed. And a third very important reform made by him was the introduction of the chaste worship of Rāma and Sītā instead of that of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. He studied at Benares under Rāghavānanda. Amongst his numerous disciples the following may be counted : Anantānanda, Surasārānanda, Sukhānanda, Narahariyānanda, Yogānanda, Pīpā (a Rajput), Kabīr (a weaver), Bhāvānanda, Senā (a barber), Dhannā (a Jāth), Gālāvānanda, Raidās (a shoe-maker), and Padmāvati (a woman)¹.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE RĀMĀNUJIS AND RĀMĀNANDINS,

Both Rāmānuja and Rāmānanda advocated a system of philosophy which may be summed up in one word, *i. e.*, Viśiṣṭādvaita but whereas the former laid down the worship of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, the other that of Śrī Sītā and Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa. The followers of the Śrī sampradāya may be broadly classified² into Vāḍa-gala (northern) and Tīṅgala (southern). Outwardly they differ in having diverse mantras, greetings, dress and especially in the forehead signs, which show whether the mark of Viṣṇu shall represent (Vāḍa-gala) one or (Tīṅgala) two feet of the God on the forehead expressed by vertical lines painted fresh daily.

1. Bhandarkar. p. 95.

2. The Religions of India by E. W. Hopkins, 1894, p. 591.

TRADITIONAL GENEALOGY OF RĀMĀNANDINS.

The Vaiṣṇavas give the following list¹ of succession of their teachers up to the time of Rāmānuja.

Nārāyaṇa
|
Lakṣmī
|
Viṣvaksena
|
Śaṭhakopa
|
Śrīnātha
|
Puṇḍarikākṣa
|
Rāmamiśra
|
Yāmunācārya
|
Pūrṇācārya
|
R mānuja

After Rāmānuja we have the following two traditions.²

Rāmānuja

|

Rāmānuja³

Govinda

|

1. Introduction to *Śrīvaiṣṇavāmātābjabhāskara*, p.66.

2. Ibid. pp. 98-102.

3. Some of the modern Rāmānandins do not regard themselves in the line of Svāmī Rāmānuja, but they consider the Rāmānandins to be altogether a distinct branch having nothing to do with the line of Rāmānuja. They have prepared a separate tradition of their own but the difficulty in accepting it is that some of the pontiffs are found in both the lists. See *Śrī Paramparā Paritrāṇa*, by Bhagavaddāsa of Baroda, V. S. 1985.

	Bhaṭṭārka
	Vedāntin
	Kalijit
	Kṛṣṇācārya
	Lokārya
	Śaileśa
	Barābaramuni
	Puruṣottama
Devācārya	Devācārya
Hariyānanda	Hariyācārya
Rāghavānanda	Rāghavānanda
Rāmānanda	Rāmānanda

The tradition of Svāmī Bālānandaji, Galtāgādi
at Jaipur is :

1. Rāmānanda (1299—1411)
2. Surasarānanda
3. Kevalānanda
4. Vimalānanda
5. Rāmasudhīrānanda
6. Bhāvānanda

7. Anabhayānanda is alleged to have crushed the Daśanāmis and prosecuted the Girīs, Purīs and the Bhāratis.
8. Vicitrānanda
9. Vimalānanda
10. Brahmānanda
11. Vrajānanda
12. Bālānanda defeated the Daśanami Gosains at Hardwar when there was a Simha-Kumbha Saṅkrānti.
13. Govindānanda
14. Gambhīrānanda
15. Sevānanda
16. Rāmānanda
17. Jñānānanda in V. S. 1880.
18. Mādhavānanda
19. R makṛṣṇānanda living in V. S. 1984 (1927 A. D.)

SECTS OF RĀMĀNANDINS.

The followers of Rāmānanda are classed¹ under four heads :—Śrī, Laskarī, Beniwāle, and Caturbhujī whereas the Rasikas who consider themselves the wife of Rama are found among all the four. The Caturbhujīs leave the space blank in the middle, whereas the Beniwāle put a white dot in the middle

1. I owe the information to Mahanth Śrī Govind Dasji of Chauhatta, Patna.

as their sectarian mark on the forehead. The Laskarīs put a white Śrī in the middle; and the Śrīvaiṣṇavas always put a red Śrī mark in the middle on their foreheads.

THE ORIGIN OF THE LASKARĪS.

The Laskarīs trace their origin¹ to Bālānanda the 12th in descent from Rāmānanda. It is said that when the jealousy between the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas was at its height, there was a great fight between them at Hardwar where the Vaiṣṇavas began to lose ground, whereupon the other followers of Rāmānanda finished² their sectarian marks on the forehead without the red Śrī in the middle and put a white mark³ instead of the red one. They came out victorious and hence they were known as Vira Vairāgī Laskarī, because they took part in a battle (Laskar-army). The sect of the Laskarīs is said to have been founded in the days of Svāmī Bālānanda. Svāmī Anabhayānanda the seventh in descent from Rāmānanda, had 171 disciples and the Vairāgī Laskarīs fought bravely under their teacher Rāmalālājī who was a contemporary of Svāmī Bālānandājī—another disciple in the line of Anabhayānandājī.

1. Introduction to Śrīvaiṣṇavamātājibhāṣkara, p. 108.

2. 'Laskari varṇa Paricaya'.

3. The white mark represents victory and fame which is so often compared with whiteness in literature, cf Raghuvainśa IV. 19.

हंसश्रेणीषु तारासु कुमुद्वत्सु च वारिषु ।
विभूतयस्तदीयानां पर्यस्ता यशसामिव ॥

RĀMALALĀJĪ AND HIS MONASTERIES.

Anabhayānanda
|
Viśvambharānanda
|
Caturānanda
|
Rāmalalājī

Rāmalalājī, who was the real founder of the Laskarīs, had many disciples but 6 foremost of them founded their monasteries at Naraghoghī, Matihānī, Mirjāpur, Rāmpaṭṭī, Pātepur, and Basaiyā. The most important gaddīs of the Laskarīs at present are at Coraut (Muzaffarpur district), Matihānī (in Nepal), Pātepur, Naraghoghī, Mirjāpur and Pokhrauni in the Darbhanga district. Baghnagarī and Naraghoghi were the residences of Rāmalalājī. Banwari Paṭṭī, Raiput, Muradiya, and Basaiya were founded at the same time. Balirājpur is a branch of Mirjāpur. Adalpur, Pātepur, Cainapur, Uhini, Parasā, Jalagovind, and Amarasara were established by Dandurāmaji of Pātepur¹.

THE RISE OF LASKARIS.

So it would seem that the sect of the so-called Vira-Vairāgi Laskarīs is widely spread throughout many parts of northern India, although the 6 important monasteries of the Laskarīs that are found scattered in the province of Bihar were founded by Svāmī Rāmalalājī, who would seem to be a contemporary of Svāmī Bālānandajī. We can calculate the approximate date by counting backward on the average standard. The period of 18 pontiffs from

1. Ibid. pp. 104-8.

1411 A. D. to 1927 A. D. is one of 416 years and thus it gives us an average of 23 years. Svāmī Bālānandajī is the 8th in ascent and the Siṃha-Kumbha Saṅkrānti takes place every 12th year and the last Saṅkrānti at Hardwar took place in 1938, so we may roughly place in 1746 A. D. *i. e.* somewhere in the middle of the eighteenth century, the date when the new sect of the Vīra Vairāgi Laskarīs was founded. And if we count the number of pontiffs even in the line of Svāmī Rāmalalājī, we can very easily arrive at the same calculated date, *i. e.*, the middle of the eighteenth century. Thus this sect of the Vīra-Vairāgi Laskarīs is only a recent innovation. But it is not likely that such an important sect could have been founded due to a mere scuffle between the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas. It seems probable that early in the XVIII century, during the decline of the imperial Moghul authority when life, property, honour and religion all were in danger, due to the unsettled government and administration whether of the Moghuls or of the Marathas, it was thought necessary to have a class of men to lead a life of austerity, sanctity and service to the country and religion. Such thoughts gave rise to the nude Nāgas amongst the Śaivas and Laskarīs amongst the Vaiṣṇavas. Perhaps the various Sanyāsī raids of Bengal during the XVIII and early XIX centuries were the outcome of similar organisations.

THE VAIRĀGINS.

But the word Vairāgi which means 'one who is free from worldly passion or desire' seems to

indicate that they represent¹ a very old element in the Indian religion, for those of the sect who wear a leopard's skin certainly do so as personating Nṛsimha. 'There seems to be some evidence to prove that the Vairāgīs arose on the spread of the Rajput power which followed the overthrow of the Buddhism in India.' It is only to the followers of Rāmānanda that the title Vairāgī is properly applied and they are pledged to vows of celibacy. The Mahanths of Pokhrauni are celebrates² and they belong to the Laskarī sect. The Vairāgīs disregard³ caste distinction, though they wear the sacred thread, and worship Hanumān, the valiant herald of R ma. So it would appear that these Vīra-Vairāgī Laskarīs represent the fighting element of Hinduism and they stand for the defence of the religion. The Vīra-Śaivas⁴ in southern India constitute an almost similar element amongst the Śaivas.

1. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics by Hastings, II, 337.

2. A. I. R. 1941. Pat. 354.

3. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 94.

4. 'Vīraśaivism' by V. C. Yagati in the Journal of the Literary Committee, Dharwar, Vol. II. No. 4.

A NEW INSCRIPTION OF APARĀDITYA
(II), ŚAKA 1106.

by MORESHWAR DIKSHIT

This inscription of Aparāditya is preserved in the veranda of the ground floor in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and once belonged to the Collection of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Its exact find-spot is not known but it is probably the same stone said to have been discovered at Lonad, near Kalyan in the Bombay Presidency, mentioned in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part II, p. 20 and Vol. XIV, p. 212. This inscription is included as No. 20 in his List of Northern Silāhāra Inscriptions, by Dr. A. S. Altekar, in *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, p. 431. Its contents, however have never been published previously. I am obliged to Mr. R. G. Gyani, M. A., Curator, Archæological Section, as well as the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, for kindly permitting me to edit it, here.

The inscribed stone measures about 1' 6" broad and 2' 4" high and about 7" in thickness. At the top of it are the usual figures of the Sun and the Moon and a Kalasha in the centre. Below these in the upper half of the inscribed portion, in a rectangular space measuring about 4" × 7", appears

the representation of a Śiva Linga, in half relief. This rectangle divides the first five lines of the inscription into two halves. Below the inscription appears the Ass-Curse often noticed in the inscriptions of the Mediæval period.

The inscription runs into 20 lines of writing which are not very well preserved. They are not deeply engraved and therefore do not admit of any good ink impression being taken. For the most part the reading has to be made from the original stone itself and in places where it is extremely damaged some portion of it had to be left out. Fortunately all the important details can be well made out.

It refers to the reign of the (Silāhāra) King Aparāditya (II), who is described as adorned with all the royal titles, and mentions the name of his Minister Bhopaka Vyoma Śāmbhu. The object of it is to record the donation of an orchard and several other gifts for different purposes, to the Vyomeśvara temple by the Minister Vyōmaśāmbhu. The donated land was situated in the village Veharali, in the Dehasa Grāma belonging to the Tārakeśvara temple, and was included in the Shaṭ-shashṭhi *vishaya*. The boundaries of this orchard are specified. The inscription further refers to a grant of 100 Pārutthi *drammas* for the Abhisheka of the God Someshwara and another gift of 300 Pārutthi *drammas* for the Mahā-Bhōga (food-offering) of the temple for a period of ten years. Besides this some land, the name of which is given, was donated for certain duties connected with the temple (?), but the details cannot be made out with confidence.

It is further mentioned that a gift of 300 drammas was given to Rājama Si(Śi)va, the worshipper of the temple, who was also paid 30 drammas for the sake of flowers. Besides these gifts two houses were also given

These grants were made with the consent of Aparāditya and recorded on the 15th day in the dark half of the month of Kārttika, on the occasion of a solar eclipse (mentioned twice), in the Śaka year 1106 (expressed both in numerical figures and words). The Cyclic year then was Krodhin. This date¹ corresponds regularly with 5th November, A. D. 1184, when there was a solar eclipse and the day Monday as stated in the inscription.

The name of Bhopaka Vyoma Śāmbhu as the Minister of Aparāditya (II), is already known to us from the latter's Parel Stone Inscription², incised two years after the date of the present inscription. In it he is called Bhopā Vyōma Śiva. The Bassein stone Inscription³ of Śilāhāra Mallikārjuna, dated Śaka 1083, praises a certain Bhopaka Vyōma-Śiva; and before giving his name it mentions two other persons one of whom is styled Rāja Guru Vedaśiva. On account of the similarity between their names it is possible to infer that Bhopaka Vyōma Śiva of that inscription may have been a successor of the Rājaguru. A conjecture may also be hazarded that perhaps Bhopaka Vyōma Śāmbhu of the

1 Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, III, p. 371.

2. cf. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XII, p. 333. The date of this inscription is now correctly restored to Śaka 1108 instead of 1109 as read originally. cf. *Epi. Ind.*, XXIII p. 277, foot note 4.

3. cf. *Epi. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 274. Inscription C.

present inscription may have belonged to the same family and might have adopted the name after the person eulogised in the Bassein Inscription.

The appellation Bhöpaka or Bhopâ, corresponding to modern Bhopâl, seems to suggest that Vyômasiva was probably a worshipper of Devi. The variation Śiva and Śambhu in his name would indicate that he was a Śaivite. That the present grant was made to a Śaivite temple is abundantly clear from the representation of a Siva Linga on the Stone, carved below the figures of the Sun and the Moon. The Vyômeshwara temple mentioned in this inscription was probably named after the Minister Vyômasiva himself, for it seems to be the practice in those times to name the temples after their builders. This may be inferred from the Bhaiyapeshwara temple constructed by the Minister Bhaiyapa mentioned in the Berlin Museum Plates¹ of Śilâhâra Chhittarâja, and from many examples of the period.

Another point that deserves notice in this grant is the mention of Pârutthi or Pâruthi drammas. These drammas are also mentioned in the Chanje Inscription² of Śilâhâra Someshwara, dated Saka 1182. They apparently indicate the type of currency then in circulation and as has already been suggested by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī³, they may not impossibly refer to Parthian dramas.

As regards the geographical places mentioned in this inscription, Veharali obviously refers to

1. *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. 90, pp. 265 ff.

2. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 280. Inscription F.

3. cf. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 21, foot note 1.

modern Viharoli, a place about half mile south of Kondivte in the Thana District⁴. I am unable to trace any locality corresponding to the name Dehasa in its vicinity, for want of large scale maps at my disposal. The Shaṭ-shaṭhi *viśhaya*, in which these villages were situated, undoubtedly refers to the Salsette Division by which part of the Thana District was known in ancient times, and repeatedly mentioned in Silāhāra Inscriptions.

Text¹

- १ ओं^२ स्वस्ति जयश्चाशुदयश्च [।]^३ ४शकनृपकाला—
- २ तीत संवत्सरशतेष्वेका^३ ४दश ५केषु यत्रांक
- ३ तोपि शकुसंवत् ११०६^३ ४क्रोधिसंवत्सरे कार्तिक व
- ४ दि १५ सोमे अद्योह स^३ ४मस्तराजावलीविराजित श्री
- ५ मदपरादित्यदेवराज्ये^३ ४महाप्रधान भोपक श्रीव्यो
- ६ मशंभु इत्येतस्मिन्काले प्रवर्तमाने शासन समभिलि [ख्य]
- ते यथा। षट्षष्टिविषये श्री ता
- ७ रकेश्वर देवस्य देहसग्रामांतःपाती वेहरलीगावक्षेत्रे।
- भोपक श्रीव्योमशंभुना श्रीअ—
- ८ परादित्यदेवानुमत्या सूर्यपर्वे ... ६व्योमेश्वरदेवाय —
- ...लिखितं प्रदत्तः

4. In the vicinity of Viharoli, remains of some ancient Brahmanical temples and some rock cut ponds have been noticed, see *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, p 381.

1. From the original stone.
2. Expressed by a symbol.
- 3-4 This space contains the figure of a Siva-Linga.
- 5 About letters lost, Read.
6. Four Aksharas lost.
7. Three letters lost.

६ वाटकः दक्षिणतः षंज^९ पूर्वतः आरामक श्रीसोमेश्वर-
देवाय दत्तमुपरि-

१० [अभि] षेक निमित्ताय पोरुथि द्र १०० महाभोगनिमित्य
दशवर्षावधी येषां उपरि पा—

११ रुत्थ द्र ३० सहितं । ताही गांगली क्षेत्राभिधान भूमि
...अवधी...

१२ वादी कृत्यां निमित्ताया ^{१०}पूजन...

१३ याजिक राजमसिवाय द्र ३०० पुष्पादि द्र ३०
अपि

१४ याउपरि गृहें २ सकरेण भावी [I]॥ इता भाषा प्रथिता ।
आचंद्रताराव [धि]

१५ इयं शासन लिखितं [I]॥ भाषा जो लोपी अथवा
लोपावि या गर्दभेन भविजे [I]॥ इ—

१६ ते हारि एसां सूर्यपर्वे गर्दभु भवे इति विचार्य तथा
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि स्तस्य

१७ तस्य तदा फलमिति श्लोकार्थः विचार्य न केनापि न
लोपयेत

१८ अपि तु सर्वैः पालनीयमिति । लिखितं सत्क माधवेनेति

१९ श्री व्योमेश्वर देवाचे पाउ । मंगलं महा [श्रीः]

२० राजम लिखितं शासनं [II]॥

8. Two letters lost. (9) षंजः appears to be a phonetic variation for खंजः and stands for a salty land or a ditch. This name also appears in the Chanje Ins (S. 1060) of Aparaditya (I). Epi, Ind, XXIII. p. 269.

(10) With the exception of a few letters as noted above, the Text in lines 12-13 cannot be deciphered satisfactorily.

Reviews & Notices of Books

THE AGARIA

By VERRIER ELWIN

With a foreword by Sarat Chandra Roy.

Pages XXXV & 292. Oxford University Press
Rs. 12-8-0.

The Agaria are a tribe of primitive iron-smelters strung out through the high lands of Central India and overlapping into the Lateher and Gumla sub-divisions of Chota Nagpur. Their culture follows the general pattern of the Gond and Baiga but unlike the Baiga, Uraon and Munda who are comparatively secure, their economic position is becoming increasingly precarious. 'The earnings of the forge are as small as the hut.' 'All day his hammer sounds, but he only earns a handful.' 'The profit from charcoal scatters like its ashes.' 'How black are the buttocks of an Agaria yet he cannot buy enough cloth to hide them.' Like the Birhor of Hazaribagh, whose sale of jungle produce is now menaced by declining forests and more stringent regulation, the Agaria are fast approaching a point where there will be no alternative for them except extinction through starvation and collapse.

In this brilliant study Mr. Verrier Elwin marshals all the facts necessary for an understanding of the Agaria. He shows how their preoccupation

with iron tinges all their lives leaving little room for romance or charm, and condemning many of them to lives of pitiful brevity. He stresses their degraded position in society, the traditional degradation of the smith—and in a careful analysis of getting and spending, shows how the present competition of factory iron is reducing their earnings to a song. At the same time, he shows that precisely through this preoccupation with iron, Agaria life obtains its dignity and significance. Agaria myths turn on the primeval furnace and the crucial part played by Agaria ancestors in the creation of the world. Agaria skill in producing magic iron gives them a vital function in the lives of their neighbours. They are the agents for 'the all protecting nail' and 'the thunder scaring anklet'. Agaria preoccupation with iron and the apparatus of the smithy gives their songs a new and vital imagery.

I.

Boys :—Come to the forest and cut a green
tree ;

Come to my furnace and blow the
bellows for me, friend.

Girl :—Press the bellows in the forge, the slag
comes flowing.

Make me sleep with you ; I will live
in your Asur house, friend.

Boy :—Come to the bazar and I'll buy a goat.
This Asur girl does not know how to
work at the furnace, friend.

Girl :—He can cut down trees and collect a
little honey

But this Asur boy doesn't know how to
beat the iron, friend.

II.

He puts it in black
He pulls it out red
Standing he beats it,
Squatting he fashions it.
The Chokh girl blows the bellows
 at the forges,
Like a drum it sounds *datur*
 thunda
How happy I feel !
The Chokh boy beats with the
 hammer,
The hammer whistles as he swings
 it round,

And I feel very happy.

Lastly, Agaria preoccupation with fire gives them a heightened sensibility. 'The great red flowers of fire that come tumbling out of the furnace when the iron is ready, the mysterious flames that dance above it, lighting the hut by night with uncanny beauty, the deep red glow of the coal in the blast of the bellows, the showers of sparks that spring out beneath the hammer, in this is the beauty and poetry of the Agaria's life.' The problem for the administrator is how to maintain these great compensations and at the same time provide the Agaria with a more secure foundation for their lives.

It is obvious that no solution is easy. Among the Baiga, the policy of weaning from the axe accomplished little for the forests but caused havoc to Baiga ways of life. In a similar way, it by no

means follows that a policy of weaning from the forge will promote economic betterment. On the other hand it will almost certainly involve the destruction of all that makes Agaria life worth while. Among the Agaria of Palamau, there are no longer any forges but with their passing, stability and contentment have gone. The Agaria in this area are now a wretched 'non-descript' people eking out their livelihood by day labour in the timber coupes and by field work, with no mythology, no vision, no sense of their coherence as a tribe, no view of life to give significance to an arduous and derelict routine. Only in their dancing, with its stiff piston-like movements of the arms and convulsive dipping of the hips do they preserve a fragment of a culture which was once uniquely theirs.

The other solution is to accept the forge and to concentrate on its improvement. Mr. Elwin points out that 'the Agaria furnace suffers from several serious technical defects: The first and most obvious defect in the smelting process is that no flux is used. The absence of flux means longer and harder work and a lot of waste. Another defect is the absence of any means of cooling the twyer. The two bamboo poles that lead air from the bellows terminate about an inch from the mouth of the twyer, with the result that there is an obvious loss of blast and the fire does not achieve anything like the heat that might be possible. The result is that in proportion to the result the expenditure of charcoal is very great. Another disadvantage of the Agaria smithy is that it is so constructed

that it cannot be used during the rains and thus four months work is lost every year. A proper building, with some method of storing ore and charcoal would increase the outturn of the furnace by one-third. If these could be remedied, there would be a saving of labour, an increase in production and an improvement of prosperity.' A further way in which much might be done is through a relaxation of the terms for charcoal. The Government of the Central Provinces have already greatly reduced the fuel fees for the Agaria and this is bound to have the most encouraging results. If these remedies can be explored, the Agaria way of life may yet be salvaged.

It is obvious however that if action is to be taken it must be taken quickly. Another decade may so accelerate collapse that revival will be impossible. Mr. Elwin concludes a book of exceptional importance with the following appeal. 'The preservation of the Agaria depends almost entirely upon the Government of the Central Province, especially when that passes into Indian hands. I would commend to them some words from that extraordinary document composed by Asoka after his conquest of the Kalinga Kingdom.

Even upon the forest tribes in his Dominions, His Majesty has compassion, though advised to destroy them in detail, and though the power to harry them is in His Majesty's hands. For His Majesty desires for all animate beings security,

control over the passions, peace of mind, and joyousness.

Asoka's words summarise all that a policy programme for the tribes should be.

W. G. Archer.

PESHA MADHAVA RAO I. *By* Professor
A. C. Banerjee, M.A., P.R.S., pp. i-iv 1-266.
Published by A. Mukherjee, 2/College Square,
Calcutta. Price Rupees six only.

In the volume under review its author has endeavoured to present to the world of scholars a detailed account of the career of the conspicuous Maratha statesman, Madhava Rao I, whose excellent military skill, diplomatic talents and civil qualities have elicited well deserved admiration from Grant Duff (*History of the Marathas, Vol. I, page 577*) and some others (*Sardesai, Main Currents of Maratha History, pp. 152—54*). We have been given here exhaustive and illuminating descriptions of some of the most significant events and important personalities of Indian History for about a decade, 1761—72.

The third battle of Panipat was considered by an eye-witness, Kashi Raj Pandit, to be "verily Doomsday for the Maratha people" and has been described by Sir J. N. Sarkar as opening a new scene "in the tragic drama of Maratha history with its 'Theban horrors' of murder, suicide, and the untimely death of the young." (*Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, p. 360*). In justification of his selection and treatment of one act of this tragedy, Professor Banerjee observes quite significantly: "This period of Maratha history is, indeed, writ in tears and sorrows and suffering, not only for the Maratha people, but for the Indian nation as

a whole. But the national mind is best irrigated by tears, and suffering is a necessary prelude to re-birth". (Preface).

For the preparation of this monograph the author has made a judicious selection of materials from contemporary English, Marathi, Persian and Portuguese sources, both published and unpublished. This has enabled him to revise critically many of the views of the old writers like Duff and Wilks, to re-interpret some of their statements, and to arrive at rational conclusions. On reviewing the famous battle of Rakshasbhuvan (August 10, 1763), the author remarks: "Grant Duff's description of the battle is wrong on two principal points. He says that it 'continued for nearly two days', but the Peshwa's letter to his mother shows that it continued for not more than 3 or 4 hours. Secondly Grant Duff says that Raghunath 'was completely surrounded and cut off from his troops', and was rescued from this perilous position by the assistance of Sakharam and Madhava Rao. No printed news letter gives this information" (p. 31, F. N. 4). We get also the following pithy comment on the treaty of September 25, 1763, concluded between the Nizam and the Marathas: "This treaty deserves to be regarded as a land mark in the history of the Marathas. So far as the relations between Poona and Haiderabad are concerned, the state of things inaugurated by it lasted up to the battle of Kharda (1795).....Secondly, as a contemporary news-writer observed, this brilliant success of the Marathas impressed the Deccan as well as Hindusthan. This was, indeed, the first

proclamation of Maratha revival after the disaster of Panipat. Finally, this victory brought about a very significant change in the domestic affairs of the Maratha Empire. It closed the period of Raghunath Rao's Regency and marked the beginning of Madhava Rao's independent career" (pp. 33-34).

The story of Maratha revival in the post-Panipat period, the successful efforts of the Marathas against the aggressions of Haidar Ali (*vide also N. K. Sinha, Haidar Ali, pp. 69-91 and pp. 149-85*) and the relations of the Marathas with the rising British power have been elaborately and intelligently described in this piece of work. A critical study of the mean and unpatriotic policies and movements of Raghunath Rao has justly led the author to observe that the "First Anglo-Maratha War was casting its shadow upon the ill-fated Maratha Empire" (p. 72). As a matter of fact, the greatest weakness of the Maratha Power during the period of their acute competition with others for political supremacy in India was their internal discord. "It has always been allowed", wrote the English at Madras "and that too with just reason, that nothing can reduce the Maratha Power but dissension among themselves, and it is fortunate for the other Powers in Hindusthan that the Maratha chiefs are always ready to take every advantage of each other" (*Madras Military Consultations, April 30, 1770*).

Professor Banerjee has made a fair estimate of the Peshwa's character and administration and drawn a picture of Maratha society and economic

life in the 18th century on the authority of Marathi documents (pp. 247—51). I wish the author could have secured more materials about the social and economic conditions in Maharashtra. Greater knowledge about them regarding the whole of India since the mid-eighteenth century would enhance the accuracy of our knowledge and interpretations of the quickly succeeding political revolutions. The concluding paragraph of the book contains some highly significant observations. "Could such a ruler (Madhava Rao)", the author writes therein, "have averted the downfall of the Maratha Empire? That catastrophe was due to the slow and silent operation of many factors, political, military, social and economic. It is difficult to see how an individual, however gifted, could have stood as a barrier against the forces of disintegration bursting out from within, and the ruthless might and diplomacy of the West knocking from without. Yet there may be some truth in Grant Duff's famous observation that 'the plains of Panipat were not more fatal to the Maratha Empire than the early end of this excellent prince'. Had Madhava Rao lived to his sixtieth year, Shah Alam would have remained a protege of the Poona Durbar, Haidar Ali and Tipu would not have been able to reign unmolested, and there would have been no treaty of Bassein".

The book contains four well prepared maps, a critical bibliography and a helpful analytical index. It is, in short, a valuable addition to the stock of recently published authoritative books on Modern India.

KALIKINKAR DATTA.

THE IMPERIAL TREASURY OF THE
INDIAN MOGHULS. *By* Abdul Aziz,
Barrister-at-Law, Lahore, Mufid-I-Am Press,
Lahore, 1942, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, PP. I-XIX, 1-572.
Price Rs. 8/-. Published by the author.

In this book Mr. Abdul Aziz has collected references to treasures that he could find in histories as well as in writings of such authorities as Ovington's *A voyage to Suratt in the year 1689* and the voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies, etc. This material he groups in two parts preceded by an Introduction (pp. 1—14) and the latter part is again grouped into sections and chapters. The first part deals with Cash Treasury (pp. 17—74) and the second with Jewel Treasury (pp. 75—501). A series of articles on the Treasury and the Jewels of the Moghuls have already appeared at various intervals in the *Journal of Indian History*, Madras as separate publications. These articles have been revised and enlarged and now appear in this form about which the author says that, "it is in no sense a reprint". The title of the book and its Introduction have been taken more or less from Abul Fazal's *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 1). The title of the book suggests a very wide field but the author has practically confined himself to the description of the contents of the Moghul treasury at various times. The Introductory Chapter as well does not appear

to give much information on the subject. It is evident that the topics given there have been taken from the different Ains of the *Ain-i-Akbari* (see Blochmann's Contents). It is, however, only fair to say that the author admits in the Preface that "the word 'Treasury' is used here in a very wide sense, so that the articles treated of in this monograph have an extensive range". Though the author writes that "the Treasury stored valuables of all kinds : coins, gold and silver, precious stones and useful and ornamental things made of these ; as well as articles of vertu prized for rarity or workmanship" (p. 2), these details have not been dealt with in the book. It is to be regretted that the book is so encumbered with quotations that it looks more like a book of quotations than an original work. The dedication of pages after pages to the description of precious stones in Europe seems to be quite superfluous and the absence of Persian names for precious stones is also to be regretted. The discussion on the *Koh-i-Nur* diamond is interesting and commendable. But on the whole the merit of the book does not lie in any introduction of new facts but in its utility as a work of reference as it will be helpful to research students in contacting the authorities to be consulted on the subject. There are no bibliographies at the end of the book but a list of abbreviations is given (pp. XII-XV) which is perhaps meant to serve the purpose of a bibliography. The author gives a list of precious stones which did not enter the Moghul Treasury or which belonged to people outside India, but authorities have not been quoted at all places for ready reference.

For instance, it is mentioned that the Piggott diamond, weight when cut $47\frac{1}{2}$ Car., price £ 30,000 was taken to England by Lord Piggot in 1775 (p. 244). Whereas on the authority of Holzman (*The Nabobs in England, A study of the Returned Anglo-Indian, 1760-1785*, by James M. Holzman, Ph. D., New York, 1926) we know that "among the finest in Europe, the weight of the Piggott Diamond was variously estimated at from 47 to 82 Carats. In 1800 it was disposed of by lottery for 24,000 pounds, and was four years later, said to have been purchased for the Empress Josephine's necklace. Its last owner was Ali Pasha of Egypt. He paid 30,000 pounds for it and then ordered it to be crushed to powder, when on his death-bed in 1822 " (p. 90). The political disturbances and upheavals of the 18th and 19th centuries greatly affected the treasures left behind by the Moghuls. The situation in India could be well gauged by the fact that diamonds had fallen in value in England because of the quantities imported by the servants of the United Company of Merchants of England Trading with the East Indies and once Mrs. Warren Hastings "had to deny a report that she wore 20,000 pounds worth of pearls and diamonds to a ball " (Holzman, p. 89).

The absence of any discussion on the subject of Moghul numismatics is a very serious flaw. The coins throw a flood of light on the treasures of the Moghuls. Researches in the branch of Moghul numismatics and the discoveries of numerous Treasure Trove coins reported from various Provinces have revealed the invaluable numismatic

wealth of this Country. From the papers published in the journals of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Numismatic Society of India and Punjab Historical Society, etc., it will appear that systematic study of Moghul Coinage has revealed many aspects of the history of the Moghul Period which would have otherwise remained obscure. It is to be regretted that for want of attention and interest most of the ancient coins have been dissipated and melted. Major John Scott on his return to England in 1782 wrote to Warren Hastings that, "I brought to London about 200 gold mohurs. Plumber (?) the man who melted them, told me that for these 12 years last past, he has not melted into Bars of gold, less than a Ton and a half of Mohurs and Pagodas" (Holzman, p. 89).

S. A. SHERE.

THE EARLY ARYANS IN GUJRAT. *By*
K. M. Munshi, B. A. LL. B., 7"×5½", pp.
i—iii+120.

Published by the University of Bombay, 1941.

The Aryanisation of India was a long-continued process. It was achieved partly by peaceful means and not unoften by wars and conquests. The Aryans had to fight, no doubt, against those who opposed their progress; but in this connection more important were the wars which the Aryan tribes fought amongst themselves for individual power and supremacy.

Mr. K. M. Munshi in this volume under review traces such political activities of some of the early Aryan tribes in relation to Gujrat.

The present work consists of five lectures 'forming part of the series of Thakkar Vassanji Madhavji lectures' in the University of Bombay. The lectures, it can be said to the credit of the author, are highly interesting and informative.

In Lecture I the author discusses the historical value of the Vedic texts and the Purāṇas, etc. The Purāṇas are, no doubt, very important for the political history of ancient India; but the Vedic texts also can help us a lot in this matter. Mr. Munshi believes that a careful scrutiny of the Vedic evidence would prove to be useful in assessing the accuracy of some Purāṇic traditions (pp. 15 and 16).

Lecture II tells us that Gujrat was associated with the Aryans from an early period of their history. It is well-known that North Gujrat was called Ānarta after the name of Śaryāti's son.

Lectures III and IV describe the military exploits of the Haihayas and the mighty conqueror Paraśurāma. Māhiṣmatī, which was founded by Kārtavīrya, the Haihaya leader, and which attained glory and celebrity under the Haihaya supremacy suffered a destruction at the hand of Paraśurāmā. All these facts become relevant, if Māhiṣmatī can be located somewhere within the boundary of Gujrat. The location of this town has long been a matter of controversy. Our author holds that it "was situated at the place where now stands the town of Broach (Bhrigu Kaccha) in Gujrat". He supports his view by apt illustrations from the Purāṇas. The author's view seems to be convincing.

The fifth lecture summarises the results of the Bhrigu-Haihaya conflict. The religious and social changes referred to in this connection have been very briefly dealt with. Some more space could have been given for this purpose.

On the whole the book is an important contribution to the stock of our knowledge regarding Vedic India.

The author has made some useful and striking suggestions regarding the methodology of researches into the history of Ancient India.

PROTO-INDIC RELIGION (Reprinted from
Q. Jms Vol. XXXIII, No. I). By S. Sri
Kantha Sastri, M.A., Published by the author,
310, D. Subbaiya Road, Mysore, 1942.
8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ " pp. 91.

Excavations at Mohenjo-daro have brought to light a highly developed civilisation which can be dated as far back as the 4th or 3rd millenium B. C. The archæological finds which include various seals, deities and figurines and many other similar objects are of great antiquarian interest and far-reaching importance to the students of Ancient Indian History. A proper study of these objects is necessary for understanding the real nature of the Indus civilisation. Scholars like Sir John Marshall, Mackay, Vats, Dikshit and many others have brought out interesting volumes and articles on different aspects of this civilisation in the light of their own studies and researches. Of all the questions that seemed problematical to the scholars and that still awaits a satisfactory solution is the relation between the Mohenjo-daro civilisation and the Vedic civilisation. Some scholars are of opinion that these two civilisations are unrelated to each other. But this view has been sought to be refuted by many and it is interesting to note that the author of the present treatise has tried to establish that the 'Proto-Indic civilisation was predominantly the Vedic culture as revealed in the

Atharva Veda'. Though the author is not the first to point out affinities between these two cultures, yet credit lies to him that he has been able to collect from various sources the useful facts in support of the view.

The book may be conveniently divided into two main parts. The first part deals with the seals, deities and figurines, etc., and aims at weighing their proper significance whereas the second is devoted to the study of social customs (specially the cremation methods) and the maritime activities of the pre-Aryans of the Indus Valley. The book, on the whole, is a study of the social and religious beliefs of the pre-Aryan people in relation to those prevailing in the Vedic, specially in Atharvan, society.

The subject-matter of this treatise is interesting and further researches on the same line will be greatly welcome.

The present work suffers from various defects some of which can be briefly noted here.

One of the greatest draw backs of the book is that the Vedic verses have been quoted without accent-marks. This involves a great deal of difficulty in understanding the meaning of these verses.

"A deity under a bough.....a vegetation deity (p. 4), a god under a curved structure.....found in Sumer" (p. 5) are very vague descriptions of the deities the author intended to refer to.

It is very difficult to find out what the author intended to convey by—"vrātya is connected with vrata and vrāta, *the first indicating the observation*

of penance and ritual and the second being of an institutional character" (p. 8).

There is no justification in imagining any connection between ushniṣa and uksha (p. 8).

A large discussion about the 'Vrātya' (p. 7—9) seems to be irrelevant.

The statement that "the Proto-Indians seem to have been pacifists....." (p. 18) seems to be inconsistent with the lines :—

"Mr. Majumdar discovered the remains of ancient fort-walls to protect the city. All this points to a class like Ksatriyas and it is hard to accept the opinion that the people were always pacifists and on the defensive" (p. 82).

The term 'Vedic Sanskrit' (p. 28) should be avoided.

A large number of printing mistakes have crept into the book. For example—"Sarsvatis" (p. 38); "in the Taittiriyaśamhita say that the boar..... goats to Indrāni" (p. 25); "āstarana" (p. 7); "Asvathha" (p. 28), "Vrtra" (p. 20).

Such examples can easily be multiplied.

The following paragraphs do not seem to point to any definite conclusion :—

Para. 2, page 2 and 3 ; para. 4, page 5.

The author says on page 4 that "if we disabuse our minds of all imaginary reconstruction of Vedic civilisation attempted by many scholars, we shall be able to make a nearer approach to the solution by analysing seals, etc.". But it is a great pity to find that regarding the date of the Rig Veda,

Avestan literature and many other like problems he has merely quoted others' theories (pp. 60 and 61).

The author is silent on the following points :—

What are the reasons that affinities are found between the Indus civilisation and the Vedic civilisation? Is it due to the fact that the former is the progenitor of the latter or to the fact that the Vedic Aryans absorbed some of the pre-Aryan customs and beliefs into their society?

The book is a collection of useful facts and the author's attempt to explain the seals in the light of the various Vedic texts is interesting.

PRIYATOSH BANERJEE

Notes of the Quarter.

*Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the
Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on the
29th August, 1943, at 9 A. M.*

Present :

The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir S. Fazl
Ali, Kt. (in the chair).

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. P. Varma.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha.

Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail.

Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting
of the Council held on March 14, 1943.

2a. Passed the monthly statement of accounts
for the months, March to July, 1943.

(b) Passed the revised budget for the year
1943-44 and the budget estimate for the
year 1944-45.

(c) Passed the annual statement of accounts
for the year 1942-43.

3. Confirmed payments of the following :—

Rs. a. p.

(a) Ramakrishna & Sons Bill for 70 11 0
purchase of books.

(b) Messrs. Taraporevala & Sons 16 0 0
Bill for purchase of books.

(c) Golam Kodoose's Bill for 19 0 0
binding books.

- | | Rs. | a. | p. |
|--|-----|----|----|
| (d) Patna Law Press Bill No. | 979 | 6 | 0 |
| 70-43 for printing Journal,
December issue, 1942. | | | |
| (e) Patna Law Press Bill No. | 838 | 2 | 0 |
| 161-43 for printing Journal
March-June issue, 1943. | | | |
| (f) Patna Law Press Bill No. | 89 | 12 | 0 |
| 92-43 for printing annual
reports etc. | | | |

4. Elected the following gentlemen as ordinary members of the Society :—

- (a) Dr. Tarapada Choudhury, M. A., Ph. D.,
Professor, Patna College.
- (b) Gorakhnath Sinha, Esq., M. A., Professor,
Patna College.
- (c) P. Rama Narayan Sharma, M. A.,
Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies,
Bihar.

5. Read letter No. 924-E, dated 22-4-43 from the Deputy Secretary to Government, Education Department.

Resolved that henceforward the Society be named Bihar Research Society and a copy of the reply to the Government letter be forwarded to the Orissa Government for information.

6. Resolved that the following Journals be placed on the exchange list of the Society :—

- (a) The University of Ceylon Review.
- (b) Journal of Andhra University and
Culture.

7. Sanctioned permission to Mr. Chon Tafu to take photographs of some Tibetan books mentioned in his application, dated 30-7-43 from the enlargements kept in the office of the Society.

8. Authorised Mr. Sham Bahadur to act as Honorary General Secretary of the Society in addition to his own duties.

9. Resolved that the names of the following members be removed from the register of the Society and the amounts noted against their names be remitted.

	Rs.
1. Moulvi Hafiz Shamsuddin Ahmad	108
2. Prof. H. B. Bhide ..	50
3. Prof. K. C. Chattopadhyaya ..	40
4. Sir J. F. W. James, Kt. ..	30
5. Khan Bahadur S. M. Omar ..	60
6. Mr. Virsen Mehta ..	48
7. Prof. A. Mukerji ..	60
8. Mr. M. N. Pal ..	66
9. Dr. Durga Prasad Pande ..	30
10. Mr. G. Ramadas ..	50
11. B. Bipin Bihari Saran ..	48
12. B. Ram Bahadur Sharma ..	48
13. B. Jagadis Nandan Singh ..	48
14. B. Jaikishore Narain Singh ..	108
15. B. Parasnath Singh ..	80
16. Mr. Rudrapratap Sinha ..	60
17. P. Devadatta Tripathi ..	84
18. Prof. J. C. Vidyalkankara ..	120

S. Bahadur,

Honorary General Secretary,
30-8-43.

Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
Annual Statement of Account for the year 1942-43.
 INCOME. EXPENDITURE

Heads.	Actuals.	Revised Budget.	Heads.	Actuals.	Revised Budget.
Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Government Grant :—					
Library ..	1,000 0 0	1,000 0 0	Library ..	917 9 9	1,113 4 0
Establishment ..	1,000 0 0	1,000 0 0	Establishment ..	1,308 5 10	1,256 0 0
Cat. of Mithila Mss.	1,533 0 0	1,533 0 0	Mithila Pandit	1,576 14 3	1,533 0 0
Journal ..	1,600 0 0	1,600 0 0	Prov. Fund	..	75 0 0
Postage Recovered ..	5 15 0	..	Mss. Purchased	172 3 0	172 3 0
Subscription ..	930 0 0	900 0 0	Journal	2,199 3 6	2,500 0 0
Sale of Journal ..	1,081 4 0	150 0 0	Postage	229 0 6	400 0 0
Miscellaneous ..	130 4 0	..	Stationery	45 1 0	90 0 0
Interest on Pub. Acct.	81 1 11	..	Electrical charges	65 2 0	100 0 0
Opening Balance :—	..	..	Miscellaneous	420 5 0	350 0 0
Huthwa Fund ..	173 0 6	173 0 6	Closing Balance :—	..	..
Darbhangha Fund ..	279 14 3	279 14 3	Huthwa Fund	173 0 6	4,031 5 7
Maurbhanj Fund ..	210 14 9½	210 14 9½	Darbhangha Fund	364 10 3	..
Tibetan Expedition ..	503 9 9	503 9 9	Mayurbhanj Fund	210 14 9½	..
General Balance ..	4,270 5 3½	4,270 5 3½	Tibetan Expedition	503 9 9	..
Total ..	12,884 1 6	11,620 12 7	General Balance	4,698 1 4½	..
			Total	12,884 1 6	11,620 12 7

S. Bahadur.

APPENDIX

Bhojpuri Village Songs

Collected from Kayasth Households

IN

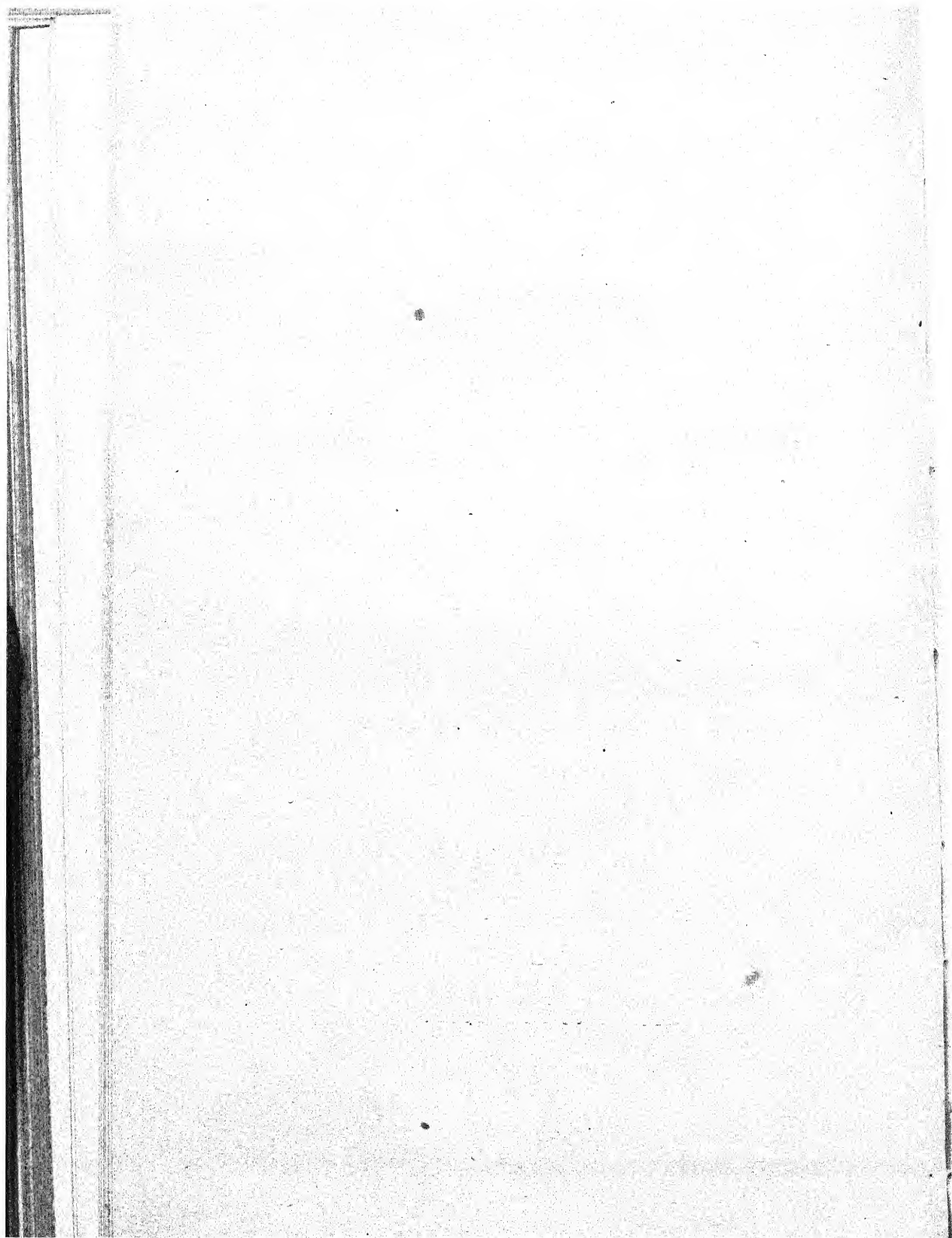
Shahabad District, Bihar, 1940-41

BY

W. G. ARCHER, I.C.S.

AND

SANKTA PRASAD.



रथ के साजत बिलम्ब जनि करहु, रूक्मीणी देई के व्याह ए ।
मढ़वा बैठी रूक्मीणी धर्म पुकारेली, कृष्ण जी शरण तोहार ए ।
पहिला भँवर जब रूक्मीणी घुमेली, कृष्ण जी लिहले उठाइ ए ।
रथ चढ़ाइ कृष्ण चली जे भइले, सब राजा करे हाहाकार ए ॥

१७८

पानन फूलन मढ़वा छवाइला, वोह में मोती लगाइ जी ।

देखो सखि राम जनकपुर आये ।

गायी के गोबर अंगना लिपाइ ए गज मोती चौका पुराइ जी

देखो सखि राम जनकपुर आये ।

चन्दन काठ के पिढ़इ गढ़ायो, वोह पर राम वो सीता बैठाइ जी ।

देखो सखि राम जनकपुर आये ।

बड़े-बड़े मोतिया से अंजूरी भराये छोटे-छोटे मोतिया चुमाइ जी ।

देखो सखि राम जनकपुर आये ।

धन्य राजा दशरथ धन्य जनइया रीखे, जोड़ी जुगुती मिलाप जी ।

राम अइसन बर पाये जन्म सुफल मनाये जी ।

देखो सखि राम जनकपुर आये ।

१७९

सीता ही केरा स्वयंवर खबरी जनावही ए ।

आय आय सब वइठेले धनुष ना टुटे ए ।

राजा कठिन प्रण ठानेले मोही ना सोहाय ए ।

सीता अइसन सुन्दर रहली कुंआर ए ।

कोमल कोमल अङ्ग कोमल श्री राम ए ।

एजी उनकर कौन भरोसा धनुष नाहीं टुटे हो ।

अङ्ग में चीर पीतम्बर मुकुट सिर शोभे हो ।

एजी छन में लिहले उठाए धनुष नव खन्ड ए ।

जब राजा देखे धनुष टुटे भइले आनन्द ए ।

ए योगी वीप्र बोलाइ करेलो कन्या दान ए ।

लाल ही पाट के जाजीम भारी विछाव ए ।

एखी बैठ सोहागीन सब मंगल गावही ।
भईले वीआह चलेले राम कोहवर ।
सखी सब छेकैली दुआर पढ़त राम जाई ए ।
जब राम पढ़ले दुआर सुनहु मन लाई ए ।
सब सखी देहली अशीश ए ।

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अवध नगरीया बाजन एक बाजेला घर घर मंगला चार ए ।
जेकराही घरवा सीता अईसन लछ्मीमी सो कैसे सोवे अनयित ए ।
मोरा पीछुअरवा वीप्र गोसाई वीप्र वेगही चली आव ए ।
आवही वीप्र सुदीन दिन सोचहु चली जाहु अवध के देश ए ।
हाथ लेले लोटीआ रे कान्धे लेले धोतीया-बांधी लेले पाट के जनेव ए ।
ग्यानी पण्डित दुअरे पर जैहें तुरत मीलीहे श्री राम ए ।
दिन गीनाइला लगन धराइला पहे दिन शुभ दिन होई ए ।
गाथी के गोबर अंगना लीपाईला गज मोती चउका पुराई ए ।
सोने के थारी में जल भराईला राम के चरन पखार ए ।
सोने के कटोरा में चन्दन भराईला राम के तीलक लिलार ए ।
तीलक चढ़ाई वीप्र दुआर ही अईले बाजही दशरथ घर वधाव ए ।
हाथी साजीला घोड़ा साजीला साजीला तबला नीसान ए ।
जीरवा अईसनी लोकनी साजीला जाईला जनकपुर दुआर ए ।

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जब राजा रामचन्द्र घर से बाहर भईले पिता देले अशीस ए ।
युगही युग तुंह जीह ए राम भुगुत अयोध्या के राज ए ।
जब राजा रामचन्द्र अवधपुर आवेले जनकपुर के लोग डेराई ए ।
कंहवा के चन्नी रे लुटन आवेले अब सीता रखवो छीपाए ए ।
जब हो रामचन्द्र गोण्डन आवेले भाटवा लीहले वरमाए ए ।
दर्शन होत मोरा मन प्रश्न भईले चरण छुअत वैकुण्ठ ए ।
जब हो रामचन्द्र दुअरन अईले चेरीया कलश लेले ठाढ़ ए ।
दर्शन होत मोरा हृदया जुड़ईले चरण छुअत वैकुण्ठ ए ।

जब हो रामचन्द्र मड़वाही आईले वीप्र गोत्र उचारी ए ।
दर्शन करत मोरा नेत्र जुड़ईले चरण छुअत वैकुण्ठ ए ।
कुशवा के आसन कुशवा के कासन कुशवा लीइलन हाथ ए ।
जब हो जनईआ रोखे सीता संकलपेले मने मने देले अशीस ए ।
जे एही मंगल गावही गाई सुनावही से वैकुण्ठ ही जाई ए ।

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एक ही चीठीआ लिख भेजेले जनईआ रोखे देही राजा दशरथ हाथ ए ।
हमें घरे बाड़ी सीतादेई रानी तोहे घरे रामजी कुंआर ए ।
रउरा तो हई देश पत्री के राजा हम हई जनम भीखार ए ।
कन्द ही मुल राजा हमरो भोजन हमें रउरा कईसन वीआइ ए ।
केई आवे हाथी केहु आवे घोड़ा केई आवे बजन बजाई ए ।
केकरा ही भईआ के भगती होत आवे उड़ईत आवेला नीसान ए ।
राम आवे हाथी लक्ष्मण आवे घोड़ा दशरथ बजन बजाई ए ।
जब राजा रामचन्द्र दुअरन आईले हाकी पड़ेले परशुराम ए ।
हमरी बरली सीता केई वीआहेला मारब धेनुषा चढ़ाई ए ।
हाथी चढ़ल राजा रामचन्द्र आवेले हम दशरथ जी के लाल ए ।
रउरी बरली सीता हमरे वीआहीला मारब धेनुषा चढ़ाई ए ।
छोटी मुटी सीता अंगवा के पातर बिनती करे कर जोड़ ए ।
जब हम होखव राम के वीआही दुदल धनुष जुटी जाई ए ।
पहील बाण यमुन दह गीरेला दुसर गीरेला पाताल ए ।
तीसर बाण गंगा बीचे गीरेला गीरी परेला परशुराम ए ।
डड़ीया अलोट होके सीता बिनती करे आदीत सरन तोहार ए ।
पातर राम धनुष बड़ा भारी उठत वीलम्ब जनी होई ए ।
धन्य धन्य भाग सीता अइसन सुन्दर रन जीत आए राम ए ।

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जब बरीअतीया मड़रअन आईले ब्राह्मण गोत्र उचार ए ।
देबो मैं ब्राह्मण सोने के जनेउआ मोरा आगे सीता बखान ए ।
का हम सीता बखानो राजा दसरथ सीता सुरजवा के जोत ए ।

सीता के जोती चन्द्रमा छपीत भईले दसरथ कुल उजीयारे ए ।
 भईले वीवाह परेला सिर सेन्दुर मुनी सब देले आशीस ए ।
 जनम जनम अहीवात हो सीता राम दुलारी तुम होहु ए ।
 भईले वीवाह चलेले राम कोहवर सरहज छेकेली दुआर ए ।
 हमरा ही नेग जोग देही वर सुन्दर तब रचरा कोहवर जाई ए ।
 देवों में सरहज हाथे के कगनवा मोरा आगे सीता बखानु ए ।
 का हम सीता बखानों राजा रामचन्द्र सीता सुरजवा के जोत ए ।
 सीता के जोती चन्द्रमा छपीत भईले मोह रहेना रघुनाथ ए ।

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साजीला राम साजीला भैया लक्ष्मण साजीला भरथ भुआल ए ।
 साजी बरात चले राजा दसरथ, जाई जनकपुर ठाढ़ ए ।
 झारी पीतम्बर पयले में डासीला बैठ नृपति सब लोग ए ।
 सावल राम गोर ही भैया लक्ष्मण गोर ही भरथ भुआल ए ।
 जीनका गले वैजन्त्री के माला सावल श्री राम ए ।
 कान ही कुण्डल हाथ ही सुन्दर मथवा मनोहर पाग ए ।
 जैसे वजार ही में मोती भलकेला वईसे भलके मोरा राम ए ।
 जे एही मंगल गावही गाई सुनावही से हो बैकुण्ठे जाई ए ।

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साजीला हाथी साजीला घोड़ा साजीला लोग बरीआत ए ।
 साजी बरात जनकपुर उतेरेले लोग देखहु बरात ए ।
 जवे बरीअतीया गोएडन अईले हथीनी छोड़ेले चीकार ए ।
 हाथीया के चकमक अधीकोन सुभेला पचतन खेद उड़ी जाए ए ।
 जब बरीअतीया वगईचा से अईले बारी घुघरु बजाई ए ।
 देवों में बरीया रे सोने के घुघरुवा मोरा आगे सीता बखान ए ।
 का हम सीता बखानों राजा दसरथ सीता सुरजवा के जोत ए ।
 सीता के जोत चन्द्रमा छपीत भईले मोह रहेले रघुनाथ ए ।
 जब बरीअतीया दुआरवन अईले चेरीया कलश लेले ठाढ़ ए ।
 देवों में चेरीया सोने के कलशवा मोरा आगे सीता बखान ए ।

का हम सीता बखानी राजा दसरथ सीता सुरजवा कं जोत ए ।
सीता के जोत चन्द्रमा छपीत भईले मोह रहेले श्री राम ए ।
सीता कुँआरी जनकपुर रघुवर दुलहा बनी,
रीखे सब करीना विचार त लीखी पत्री अवध चली ।
दसरथ पाती उचारेले सभा में सब सुनी,
रीखे के बचन हम पाईला मोरा मन हर्ष भरी ।
साजी बरात तुरन्त जहाँ जनक अजब बनी,
गज पर दीहीना निशान नृपति सब बरात चली ।
जब बरीअतीया—दुअरवन आए सीता भरोखे चढ़ी ,
कैसे के होला वीआह त सीता सोच रही ।
सखी सब सीता सभुआवेली जनी सीता सोच कर,
हलीवंत पुरुष भगवान त मनसा पुरा करी ।

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चलले जनक ऋषि गंगा नहाये , धनुष देले ओठघाइ ए ।
धनुषा के आसे पासे लिपीह हो सीता, पुजवा करबी हम आयी ए ।
बांये कन अंगूरी सीता धनुष उठवली, दहीने लिपेली चौदार ए ।
आवत रीखे के नजर परि गइले , अब सीता रहेलु कुँआर ए ।
देश ही देश हम न्योता पेटवलों , देश के कुँआर हंकार ए ।
जेहि भाइ धनुष अलगइहें , से करीहे सीता से ब्याह ए ।
देश ही देश से कुँआर बटोरइले , कोइना धनुष अलगाइ ए ।
पुजवा करत राजा मन मन मंखेले, अब सीता रहलु कुँआर ए ।
केवाड़ के ओते ओते सीता मिनती करे, बाबा से अरज हमार ए ।
अयोध्या नगरिया में बाजेला बधइया, दशरथ पुत्र कुँआर ए ।
चिटिया जे लिखि लिखि भेजेले जनइया रीखे, देहु दशरथ जी केहाथ ए ।
हमे घर बाड़ी कुँआरी सीता देई , रउरे घर राम कुँआर ए ।
जब बरिअतिया द्वारन्ही अइले , सीता भरोखवन ठाढ़ ए ।
देवत छोड चलत बाडा सुन्दर , जऊं पत राखे भगवान ए ।
बांये कनअंगुरिया राम धनुष उठावेले, अयोध्या पति दसरथ के
पुत्र श्रीराम ए ।

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कंहवा ही बैठल सखि मंगल गावेली कंहवा ही हनेला निशान ए ।
 कंहवा बठल विप्र गोत्र उचारेले, कंहवा ही होला ब्याह ए ।
 तमुआ भीतर सखि मंगल गावेली, दुअरन हनेले निशान ए ।
 बेदिया बैठल विप्र गोत्रा उचारेले, चौकन होला ब्याह ए ।
 जब हो सीता देइ ब्याहन चलली, सब सखि मिलि के संवार ए ।
 सुन्दर सुहागिनी सीता संवारेली, चीर पिताम्बर पहनाइ ए ।
 पहिले ले चंदन दहिया अछत, तब ले ले दखिनवा के चीर ए,
 तब ले चन्दन सिर के सेन्दुर कइलन, धिया से बिलोह ए ।
 जब सीता ब्याही के कोहबर चलली, सूर्य भइले अलोप ए ।
 बोलेले रामचन्द्र मुख खाले पनवा, सुनु स्वसुर मोरा बात ए ।
 दान दहेज सब बरधी बढाइबी, सीतहिं डड़िया चढाई ए ।

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दुनो भैया रघुबर दुनो धनुषधारी,
 दुनो भैया चलले जनक फुलवारी ।
 पातर राम धनुष बड़ा भारी,
 कोमल राम सीता सुबुद्धि सयानी ।
 कौना मिहे अइहें हो रघुबर,
 कौना मिहे जाइबी ।
 कौना के आसे हो पासे धनुष चढाइबी,
 रघुबर पातर धनुष बड़ा भारी ।
 कोमल रघुबर सीता सुबुद्धि सयानी,
 दबना मिहे अइबी हो सीता, मरुट मिहे जाइबी ।
 वेइली के आसे हो पासे, धनुष चढाइबी ।
 बालक राम धनुष बड़ भारी ॥
 अंखिया नीरेखी जैसे अमवा के फांकी ।
 गंधुआ निरेखी जैसे चढ़ल कमानी,

माइ रघुवर पातर धनुष बड़ भारी ॥
 नाकिया निरेखो जैसे सुगवा के ठोर,
 ओठवा निरेखो जैसे कतरल पान ।
 कोभल रघुवर सीता सुबुद्धि सखानी ॥
 छोपा भरल सीता अगर चन्दन डाल भरल पान,
 लेहुना रघुवंश के दुलह सासु देली दान ।
 पातर राम धनुष बड़ भारी ॥
 नहीं लेबो अगर चंदन नहीं खइबो पान,
 अपनी दुलहिन लेबो डड़िया चढ़ाइ ।
 बालक राम धनुष बड़ा भारी ॥
 सबरे सखिया मिलि सीता के संवारेली,
 तबरे राजा रामचन्द्र चढ़ेले चंडोल
 पनवा मांगी हो राम सीता के बुलाबेले,
 मुखहु न बोले हो सीता नयना नीर ठारी,
 क्या तोरा आहो सीता मइया मन परेली,
 क्या तोरा आहो सीता सहोदर जेठ भाई ?
 नांही मोर आहो राम मइया मन परे,
 नांही परेला हो राम सहोदर जेठ भाई ?
 एक त राम याद परेली सखिया सलेहर
 जाही साथ घुमलो जनक फुलवारी,
 चुप होखु चुप होखु जनक दुलारी,
 फिर लेके जइबो हों सीता जनक फुलवारी
 बालक रघुवर धनुष बड़ा भारी ।

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ऊंच ही घर के बेदिया त, मने मने बोलेला हो ।
 ऊंच ही राम के लिलार, चन्दन भल शोभेला हो ।
 मचिया बैठल कौशल्या रानी, मने मने लोर द्वारे हो ।

अकसर राम जइहें ब्याहन, गोतिया एको ना जइहें हो ।
जनि रोव माता कौशल्या रानी, अति जन लोर द्वार हो ।
ए दशरथ साजले बरिआत लखन मोर साथ जइहें हो ।
मचिया बैठल कौशल्या रानी मने मन हुलसेली हो ।
ए पातर राम केरा हाथ पिताम्बर भला शोभेला हो ।

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गांव बाहर राजा कोठवा उठावेले, धनुष देले ओठघाइ ए ।
जे मोरा माई धनुष अलगाइहें, तेकर सीता से ब्याह ए ।
भरत लगले शत्रुघ्न लगले, लक्ष्मण भइले अगुवानी ए ।
एही तीनों से धनुष नहीं अलगेला, अब सीता रहल कुंआरी ए ।
भरत लगले शत्रुघ्न लगले, रामचन्द्र भइले अगुवानी ए ।
अंगुठन सारी धनुष अलगावेले, अब सीता होला ब्याह ए ।
भइले ब्याह चले राम कोहबर, सरहज छैंकली द्वार ए ।
हमरो ही नेग जोग दिही बर सुन्दर, तब रउरा कोहबर जाइ ए ।
रोई रोई रामचन्द्र चिट्ठिया जे लिखेले, देहु दशरथ जी के हाथ ए ।
भइले ब्याह चलली हम कोहबर, सरहज छैंकली द्वार ए ।
हमरो ही नेग जोग देहु बर सुन्दर, तब रउरा कोहबर जाहु ए ।
हंसि हंसि दशरथ चिट्ठिया जे बांचेले, राखेले हृदय लगाय ए ।
हाथ के गोल राजा दिहले पेठाई, अब राम कोहबर जासु ए ।

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धन्य रे अवधपुर दशरथ राऊ ।
धन्य रे जनक रीखे जहां राम अइहें ए ।
माई ऐसे रघुवंशी के दुलह बरणी न जाइ,
सोने के कलसा जल अमवा के पानी ।
छीड़ीके जनक रीखे सगरे बराती हे ।
जब बरिअतिया गोएइन अइले,
घाई जनक रीखे लिहले बुलाइ ए माई ।
जब बरिअतिया दुअरवन अइले ।

परीछे के सखि सब भइली तैयारी ए माई ।
जब बरिअतिया मइउअन अइले,
परीछे बाहर भइली जनकपुर के नारि ए माई ।
दधि दूब ऐपन कंचन के थारी ,
बैठि वशिष्ठ मुनि गौत्री पुजायो ए माई ।
भइले ब्याह हो राम कोहबर जाई ।
साली सरहजी सब छेकेली द्वार ए माई ।
साली सरहज हो रामा बजावे लगीहें ताली ए माई,
रउरा सासु धर्म के माई ।
अधरे परीछे लेहु नाहि परीहे गारी ए माई ।
ऐसे रघुवंशी के दुलह बनि आइ ए माई ।

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उतरू चैतवा रे चहु बसखवा, अइले लगनवा के बेर ए ।
देश पैठ बाबा बर एक खोजहु, हम बेटी ब्याहन योग्य ए ।
पूरब खोजलों में पश्चिम खोजलों, खोजलों उत्तर दखिन देश ए ।
तोहरा के बेटी हो बर नाही मिलेला, मंहग भइले श्री राम ए ।
सभवा बैठल भैया जे भंखेले, औरी खाले मुख पान ए ।
तोहरा के बहिनी हो बर नहीं मिलेला मंहग भइले श्री राम ए ।
मइसर पइसल उजे भौजी भंखेली अधरे भरेला हीरा लाल ए ।
पूर्व पश्चिम से मोगल चलि अइते, ननद ब्याही घर जासु ए ।
क्या तोर भौजी हो लइया लगवलों, क्या भैया दिहले निकाल ए ।
क्या तोरा भौजी हो रसोइया दुख दिहली, काहे हमार मोगल ब्याह ए ।
ना मोरा ननद रसोइया दुख दिहल, ना मोरी लइया लगाइ ए ।
जेठ वैसखवा के तलफी भुंमुरिया, स्वामी मोर गइले कुन्हीलाइ ए ।

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साजीला इन्द्र साजीला ब्रह्मा, साजीला मुनी महेश ए ।
साजी बरात चले राजा दशरथ, जाइ जनकपुर घाट हे ।
जब बरिअतिया गोयढ़वा चलि अइले, चंवर डोलेला चारु ओर ए ।

काढ़ि पटोर पांथेतले भेजीला, बैठु बराती सब लोग ए ।
 म्हरा रे म्हरोखा चढ़ि सोता नीरेखेली, सुनु सखि बचन हमार ए ।
 ना बरिअतिया दैया मोहि बिन्हइले, कौन वरण श्रीराम ए ।
 सांवर राम काने शोभे कुंडल गले बैजन्त्री की माल ए ।
 तुलसी दास प्रभु तुम्हरे दरश को, श्याम वरण श्री राम ए ॥

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खम्भवन ओठघल बेटी जे बोलेली, बाबा से अरज हमार ए ।
 हमरा के बाबा हो वर एक खोज, हम बेटी भइली सयान ए ।
 पूर्व देश पैठ ना होखे बेटी, पश्चिम देश मोगलन देश ए ।
 उत्तर देशवा भदेशवा हो बेटी, दखिन देशवा अखोह ए ।
 सभवा बैठल मंखे बेटी के बाबा, अब धिया रहलु कुंआर ए ।
 वर एक देखली अयोध्या के बगिया, राम लक्ष्मण दुनों भाइ ए ।
 सभवा बैठल रउरा राजा दशरथ जी, मंगनी के देहु श्रीराम ।
 जे मोरा राम आंख से ना उतरे, पलक सेना बिसरे राम मंगनी कैसे देव ए ।
 ब्याह कराइवों ककन खोलाइवों, रउरा राम देवो पहुंचाइ ए ।
 सभवा बैठल आनन्देले बेटी के बाबा, अब बेटी लगलू तू पार ए ।

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शोभित सीता राम जनक मंडप तरे,
 सिर सोने के मौरी त गजमुक्ता गले रे ।
 मरकत अधर कपोल सो मुक्ता मोल के,
 सुन्दर लोचन लोल कमल मानों भंवर करे ।
 सुरंग चुनरी निकट पीत पट छाइ रही,
 मनहु ऋरूण घनश्याम चपलता हो रही ।
 राम भुजा के निकट सिया भुजबोल से,
 मरकत मनि के खम्भ मनहु कंचन कसे ।
 राम भये घनश्याम सीया भयी दामीनी,
 मुनि भये चन्द्र चकोर चकित भयी भामीनी ।

राम भये तन श्याम सिया भइ गोरी ,
 सारद अति बुद्धिवन्त बुद्धि भयी बावरी ।
 पुसवन बरसे ए मेघ मेदनी थीर रहे ,
 होत जनकपुर ब्याह राम भांवरी फिरे ।
 सिया भूषण पहरती राम छबि उर धरे ,
 मनहु जलवानल मध्य दीपक बरे ।
 जनक ललि की ध्यान शंभू हृदय धरे ,
 ब्रह्मा रूप निहारे त इन्द्र पूजा करे ।
 तुलसी सीता राम सहित उर आनि ए ।
 राम भजन बिनु जन्म वृथा करि जानि ए ।

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जनक कुंआरी घर ब्याह त देखन आयी,
 देखन अइली सखिया सब मंगल गाइये ।
 गाऊ मंगल जाही जुही जुगुती मुख आंचल दिये ,
 चीर पहिरन कनक अभरन दान से मुख भर दिये ।
 घर घर नारि सुहागिनि अङ्ग भभुतन ,
 लाल पिअर पहिरावन मंडप भल छाइये ।
 चहुं दिश चहुं खंड शोभे बन्धु बन्धु निवारिये ,
 चित्र विचित्र कइनी काकन पर कनक कलश कहाँ धरुं ।
 भरपुर जल के आम पल्लव ताहि उपर पुरहथ धरी ,
 बहु रंग केशर पाग जामा कानन मोती डोलही ।
 रूप धूप बरात सुघर बोलत अमृत मध चुबे ,
 घुमि घुमि समधिनि निरेखु दुलह अरतो हट नट पर ।
 वृषभान मनहीं आनन्दही शिव लोक से फूल मरि पर ,
 सिर तेल सेन्दुर राम विन्दुल परात रवि छबि छाइए ।
 चन्द्र वदन राजित उमंग कोकिला सुर गाइ ए ।

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चन्दन रगरीले कटोरबहि ले मोसी अङ्ग है ।
 अरे कनक कलश भरि पानी कुंअरी नहाइले,
 सखिअन ले सीता असन जोहे जैसे पूर्णीमा चांद है ।
 पिअरी ले पहिराइला सीता संवारोला,
 चौकही अछत धरीले विप्र बुलाइ ले ।
 बोलत ब्राह्मण बांधत कंगन विप्रन गोत्र उचारिये,
 दशरथ कुल मैं क्या बखानू जैसे इन्द्र पछारा ।
 काने तरिवन शोभे अंगिया संवारिये,
 बेसर के गज मोती अघर पर लोटिये ।
 बेनिया ले टीका सेस फूले फूले मोतियन भरि लाइये,
 सिकड़ी वाले बैनार हे अटकी देखी के रघुपती डरे,
 गले कंठा शोभे मोहन बीचे माल है,
 बधिया मैं कितना बखानू सर्प के केचुआ है ।
 कंगना से टरिया के गनतु है अगर सोना भिन्न हो,
 विछिअन के भ्रमकाल चलत मोहे राम के ।
 अंगिया रंग सुरंग ताही बीचे कपड़ा,
 लंहगा अति छवि देहि सकल जग मोह ही,
 सिस चादर माल दह के अगर सोना भिन्न ही ।
 घुंघुंट काढ़ी सीता जो बैठे राम हंसे मुख मोरी के ।
 रामचन्द्र हाथ पसारल सीता ब्याही,
 जब जनक कुशवन छोड़वल सीता राम के ।

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सखी देखलों मैं कुंअर अनुप,
 कोमल कोमल अङ्ग; मनोहर रूप,
 बगीचा रडरा कह् अइले ए ।
 आरे देखत रवि ही छपइले,
 बगीचा राडरा कह् अइले ए ।

देश ही देश के भूपत अइले,
 आरे छुइ छुइ चांप लजइले,
 बगीचा रउरा कल्ह अइले ए ।
 कहु रे सखिया सलेहर,
 कहलो नहीं जाइ ए,
 आरे कहुवां के भूप कहां अइले,
 बगीचा रउरा कल्ह अइले ए ।
 अवधपती दशरथ जी के बारे,
 आरे कौशिक मुनि संग अइले,
 बगीचा रउरा कल्ह अइले ए ।
 तुलसीदास प्रभु तुम्हारे दरश के,
 आरे धनुष यज्ञ लागी अइले,
 बगीचा राउर कल्ह अइले ए ॥

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जगधर बाबूल ब्याहन आवेले, करि लेले अधिक बनाव ए ।
 पीअर धोती सबूज रंग पहिरन जनू चले उमरांव ए ।
 अगना लिपाइवी चौका पुराइवी, सुवरन कलशा धराइ ए ।
 उस कलशा पर कंचन धरिये, देखु राजा राम के ब्याह ए ।
 दुलहा दुलहीन चौका बैठे, सुघर पंडित बुलाइ ए ।
 दहेज दिये होरा मोती, लाल ही रान जड़ाइ ए ।
 गांड़ीन के दुइ बैल दिये, बाबा दिहले दरिआव ए ।
 हाथी दिहले घोड़ा दिहले, दिहले सहन भण्डार ए ।
 गाडो के दुइ बल दिहले, बाबा दिहले दरिआव ए ।
 वठि के समधी मिनती करिये, काहे के करिये सलाम ए ।
 राउर बेटी कुल के रानी, तुहु हव उमरांव ए ।
 आश छोड़ल पास छोड़ल, छोड़ल नगर तोहार ए ।
 डोलिया चढ़ल जब ले चला हे, दिल्ली गढ़ के राव ए ।
 गुड़िया खेलन के चाह छुटल नहीं, खेलन अब पाइ ए ॥

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मोरा पिछुअरवा रे झालरी बिरवा बहेला झुर झुर बयार ए
 झलवा बिछाई के सुतेले कौन बाबा बैठी जे पैठी जगाइये ।
 जेकरा ही घरे बाबा कन्या कुंआरी से हो कैसे सोवे निरभेद ए ।
 इतना बचन जब सुनले कौन बाबा बेगही पंडित बुलाइये ।
 पोथिया खोलाइ बाबा लग्न सोचावेले मोतिया वरण ढरे लोर ए ।
 किया तोरे बाबा रे अन्न धन थोर भइले क्या मरेली धेनु गाय ए ।
 कौन सुरती तोर चढ़ेला बाबा ऐ मोतिया वरण ढरे लोर ए ।
 नाहीं मोरा बेटी रे अन्नधन थोर भइले नाहीं मरेली धेनु गाय ए ।
 तोहरी सुरतिया चढ़ेला मोर बेटी रे मोतिया वरण ढरे लोर ए ।

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अवधपती बरीआती आये भये हैं जनकपुर शोर ए ।
 कुंभर छबीला ब्याहन आये, साजि तुरंग बरजोर ए ।
 जब बरिअतिआ जनकपुर आये, बोही पुर के नर नारि ए ।
 दुइ बर और अवधपुर से आये, राम लषन अनुहारी ए ।
 घाइ के अगुआन दिन्हे, यवन दिन्हे जनवास ए ।
 सब के मन में भये हैं छटपटो, सुनीला विदाई काहु ए ।
 हम धनी जिअब सीता बिन कैसे चित्त विकल होइ जाइ ए ।
 बिदा दिन्हे बहु विधि सीता सिखवन दिन्हें अनेक ए ।
 राजा जनक जी के सती सीता चरन गहे प्रभु केशरी ए ।

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राजा दशरथ तिरहुत से निकलेले अवध के लोग बुलाइये ।
 रघुवीर दुलहा ब्याहन आये दल ब दल बरिआत चली है ।
 रघुबर जाइ बरात जनकपुर पहुंचे, सखि सब देखन आइ ए ।
 लिखि लिखि चिट्ठिया परीछू बरिअतिया, बैठ के देहु जनवास ए ।
 राजा विमल जब रचिहैं बिछावन, थार भरी मोती दान ए ।
 जब बरिअतिया मड़ुआ भोरी आये, सखि सब मंगल गाइये ।
 भइले विवाह चले राम जेवन, सखि सब गारी गाइये ।

[१२३]

जेवत जेवत राम जुठवो ना छोड़े,
रीखे हंसो मुख मोड़ो ए ।

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देखु सखि राम जनकपुर आये जी ।
सुन्दर बदन कमल दल लोचन वेशरी बाग लगाये जी ।
गौर श्याम बड़ जोड़ बनाये चन्द्र तिलक चढ़ाये जी ।
सुर नर मुनि सब जै जै करतु हैं मुनि वहां तुम पाये जी ।
धन धन भाग राजा दशरथ के धन कौशल्या महतारी जी ।
तुलसीदास प्रभु तुम्हरे दरस के जोग ही जोग मिलाये जी ।
देखु सखि राम जनकपुर आये जी ।

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इंट कंचन बांधू वेदी सोपर माडो छाड़ये,
मनिताल हीरालाल मोती मध्य खम्भ गड़ाइये ।
गज मोती चौका पुराऊ राजा सुवरन कलश धराइये ।
राम सीता चौक बैठे, सखिन मंगल गाइये ।
जब भये हैं गोत्रा उचार, राजा विप्र के कुञ्ज दान ये ।
राजा दशरथ घर बाजन बाजेला सुन्दर शब्द सुनाइये ।
जब भये हैं कन्यादान राजा धरती है शेष पाइये ।
तीन लोक के शोभा सुन्दरी संग देव है भांवरी ।
जब भये है सेन्दुर दान राजा तीम घोड़ा दान ए ।
सदा आनन्द आनन्द रघुवर अच्छी दुलहीन पाइये ।

२०५

एह पार गंगा ओह पार जमुना तहां कृष्ण रचले समाधो रे,
दही बेचे चलेली राधे ग्वालीनां धरी बहियां विलमाइ जी ।
दही मोरे खइलन मटुक मोर फोरलन गेडुर दिहलन दहलाइ जी,
मिलहु न सखिया रे मिलहु सलेइर, मिली जुली चल ओरहन देई
आयीं जी ।

बरज न जसोमती अपना कहैया के, दही मोर खइलन,

मटुक सिर फोड़लन गेडुर दिहते दहलाइ जी ।
 बाप खाऊँ भैया खाऊँ तोहरो ग्वालीनी,
 नन्द नगर की काहे कन्हैया के लछन लगावलू जी ।
 बारह वर्षवा के हमरो कन्हैया क्या जाने हंतिया खियाल जी ।
 हाथजोरी कृष्ण लावसु दुहाई, जो हम ग्वालीनी को नजर भर देखीं
 श्यामवरण होइ जाइजी ।
 गोर कन्हैया संवर भइ गइलन, रतुली रतुनी भइली आंख रे ।
 माता यशोदा मुसुकीयनी बिहंसली, अब कृष्ण भइले लवार जी ।

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नगर अयोध्या के बाजन बाजेला, घर घर मंगल चारी ए ।
 बाबा रिखइया रे गर में पडुक डारे, घर घर लगन सोचाइ ए ।
 ब्राह्मन विप्र रे ठीक दुपहरिया, घर घर लगन सोधाइ ए ।
 गायी के गोबर अंगना लिपाए, गजमोती चौका पुराई ए ।
 सोने के कलशा धराइ, मानिक दीप बगाइ ए ।
 मोरा जो रामचन्द्र मटवही चललन, चेरिया कलश लेले ठाढ़ ए ।
 देवो मैं चेरिया दुनो काने तरिवन, मोर आगे सीता बखानु ए ।
 क्या मैं सिता बखानो राजा रामचन्द्र, सीता सूर्यवा के ज्योत ए ।
 सीता सुरत देखि सूर्य छपित भइले, सीता सूर्यवा के ज्योत ए ।
 जब राजा रामचन्द्र कोइबर चललन, सरहजी छेकेंली द्वार ए ।
 देवो मैं सरहजी सोने के तिलरिया, मोरे आगे सीता बखान ए ।
 क्या मैं सीता बखानों राजा रामचन्द्र, सीता सूर्यवा के ज्योति ए ।
 सीता सुरत देखि आदत छपीत भइले, सीता सूर्यवा के ज्योति ए ।
 अपने भरोखही ठाढ़ी सीता देइ, भारेली लाम्बी लाम्बी केश ए ।
 एकही चिट्ठी लिखी भेजेली सीता देइ, देवहु रामचन्द्र हाथ ए ।
 बाप रिखैया रे दगा करतु है लोहे के धनुष गंदाइ ए ।
 पातर राम पतर कन्हैया, लोहे क धनुष बड़ भारी ए ।
 एकही चिट्ठीया लीखी भेजेले राजा रामचन्द्र, देहु सीता देई हाथ ए ।
 तोड़बी धनुष करबी नव खण्ड, सीता व्याडी घर जाऊँ ए ।

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आशं गेडुल फुले पासे गेडुल फुले, फुलवा के डासल सेज हो ।
ताही पैठी सोवेले राजा के कुंअर, पातरी कामिनी गोद हो ।
अंगना बहारत चेरिया लौढ़िया, सरहज देहुना बुलाइ हो ।
आबहु सरहजो पलंग चढ़ी बैठो, देखहु ननद ब्योहार हो ।
बोल बचन कुछ सुनहीना पवली, पलंग छोड़ी भुइआं लोट हो ।
लबरा के बेटा भपासे के नाती, लंक लकुल परिवार हो ।
बारी ननदजी के छुवहुं ना देखों, छुवत जइहें कुन्हीलाइ हो ।
लवारे के बेटा भपासे के नाती जो, लङ्क लउरी ब्योहार हो ।
आरे वारी ननदजी के डड़िया चढ़इवों, तोही सरहज लेवो दहेज लाइ हो ।
केवरही लागी सासु मिनती करे, बाबु से मिनती हमार हो ।
जेठही पुत्रवा के सुहवा सोहागिनी, से कैसे लेव दहेज हो ।

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पूर्ब पच्छीम मोर बाबा के सागर, पूरइन लहालही होई रे ।
ताही सगरे कौन दुलहा करे स्ननवा, कौन देख पुछेली एक बात रे ।
केकर हई रचरा उलरू से दुलरू, कौन देख बहिनी के भाई रे ।
कौने बनीजीया चलीलें बर सुन्दर, केकरा ही सगरे नहाइल रे ।
फलाना लाल के हइ हम उलरू से दुलरू, फलानी देख बहिनी हमार रे ।
सेनुरा बनीजीया चलीले बर कामिनी, असुरे के सागर नहाइ ए ।

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अट्टीषी मुनी चलले इहां धनुष तर पोतल के,
आजु धनुष के उठावल धनुष तर पोतल के ?
अट्टीषी मुनी सुनैना बोलावेले सुनहु रानी सुनैना हो,
आजु धनुष के उठावल धनुष तर पोतल हो ?
हम नाहीं जानीला ए राजा सीता से पुछहु,
राजा हो सीता बोलावेले जांचि बैठावेले हो ।
कैसे सीता धनुष उठावेलु कौन हाथे पोतेलु हो,
बाए हाथे लिहली गेडुअवा दहीने हाथे गोबर हो ।

बाएँ हाथे धनुष उठवली, दहीने हाथे पोतीला हो ।
 हम नहीं जानीला ए सीता तुहुं अब जानहु हो,
 अब सीता रहलु कुंआरी जन्म जुग खेबहु हो ।
 देशहिं देश के भूपति राजा बटोरेले हो,
 बैठेले आसन मारी धनुष हम तोड़बी हो ।
 बाएँ हाथे धनुष उठवले दहीने हाथे तोड़ेले हो ।
 केबरहीं बोलेली रानी सुनैना सुनहु राजा जनक हो,
 बेटी के पार लगाव जन्म सुफल होइहें हो ।

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बाम के घमाइल हथिया जे आवेले, उपरा फिलमीली बाग रे ।
 ताही चढ़ल राजा दशरथ आवेले, उ बरनेत व्योहार रे ।
 अपनी खिड़किया से भांके रानी कौशल्या, काहे राम आवेले अकेल रे ।
 पुतवा मैं देखली पतोहिया ना देखली, अब मोर जीवन अधार रे ।
 क्या सीता चोरीनी रे क्या सीता चटनी, क्या सीता कुलवा के हानि रे ।
 कौनी अवगुण राजा सीता छोड़ी अइलन, काहे राम आवेले अकेल रे ।
 नहीं सीता चोरीनी रे नहीं सीता चटनी, नहीं सीता कुलवा के हानि रे ।
 सीता के बाप दहेज थोर दिहलन, ओही अवगुण नैहर बैठाइ रे ।
 दहेज दहेज मती कर राजा हो, दहेज नेदुआ के नाच रे ।
 पुतवा पतोहिया राजा घर भरी जइहें, हो जइहें महल गुलजार रे ।

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गाथी के गोबर अंगना लिपाइला, गज मोती चौका पुराइ ए ।
 आजु ए सासु इहर आइबी, पिअर पाट धराइ ए ।
 सुतल रहली स्वप्न एक देखीला, स्वप्न कहत लजाइ ए ।
 बाबा द्वार पै बधाव जे बाजेला, भैया लिआवन आइ ए ।
 जाहु ए बहु हम ना बरजबी, बहुत दिन जनि लाऊ ए ।
 काज करावहु बहु इच्छा पुरावहु, बेगे घर ही चली आइ ए ।
 बैसाख ए सासु भैया के मुड़न, जेठ भैया के ब्याह ए ।
 असाढ़ ए सासु बहिनी व्याहब, बेगे कैसे चली आइ ए ।
 सावन ए सासु अधिक सुहावन, भादों में निशि अधियारी ए ।

सोहाग

सोहाग

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कहंवा से डाल रे आवे कहंवा से बाजन आवे,
 कहंवा से धीआ के सोहाग आवे, धीआ मोरी सोहागीन रही हे ।
 पुरब से डाल रे आवे, पछीम से बाजन आवे,
 अरे बरधी लदाईल धीआ के सोहाग आवे धीआ मोरी सोहागीन रही हे ।
 कहां धरवों डाला रे दउरा, कहां धरवों अच्छत चन्दन,
 अरे कहंवा में धीआ के सोहाग धरवों, धीआ मोरी सोहागीन रही हे ।
 माडों धरवों डाल रे दउरा, माडों धरवों अच्छत चन्दन,
 अरे कोहवर में धीआ के सोहाग धरवों, धीआ मोरी सोहागीन रही हे ॥

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कथी केरा डलवा कथी केरा कलीया,
 अरे अब कहां चलेलु अरे अब कहां चलेलु,
 कवन लाल के धीआवा सोहाग मांगन आए ।
 सोने केरा डलवा रूपे केरा कलीया,
 अरे अब कहां चलेलु अरे अब कहां चलेलु,
 कवन लाल के धीआवा सोहाग मांगन आए ।
 हम तजे चलीला महादेव के टोलवा,
 अरे अपनी सोहाग गउरा अपनी सोहाग गउरा,
 हमरा के दीहीं सोहाग मांगन आए ।
 सब के देवों में पात पुरीए सोहागवा,
 अरे अपना कवन बेटी अरे अपना कवन बेटी के,
 अँचरा भराई सोहाग मांगन आए ॥

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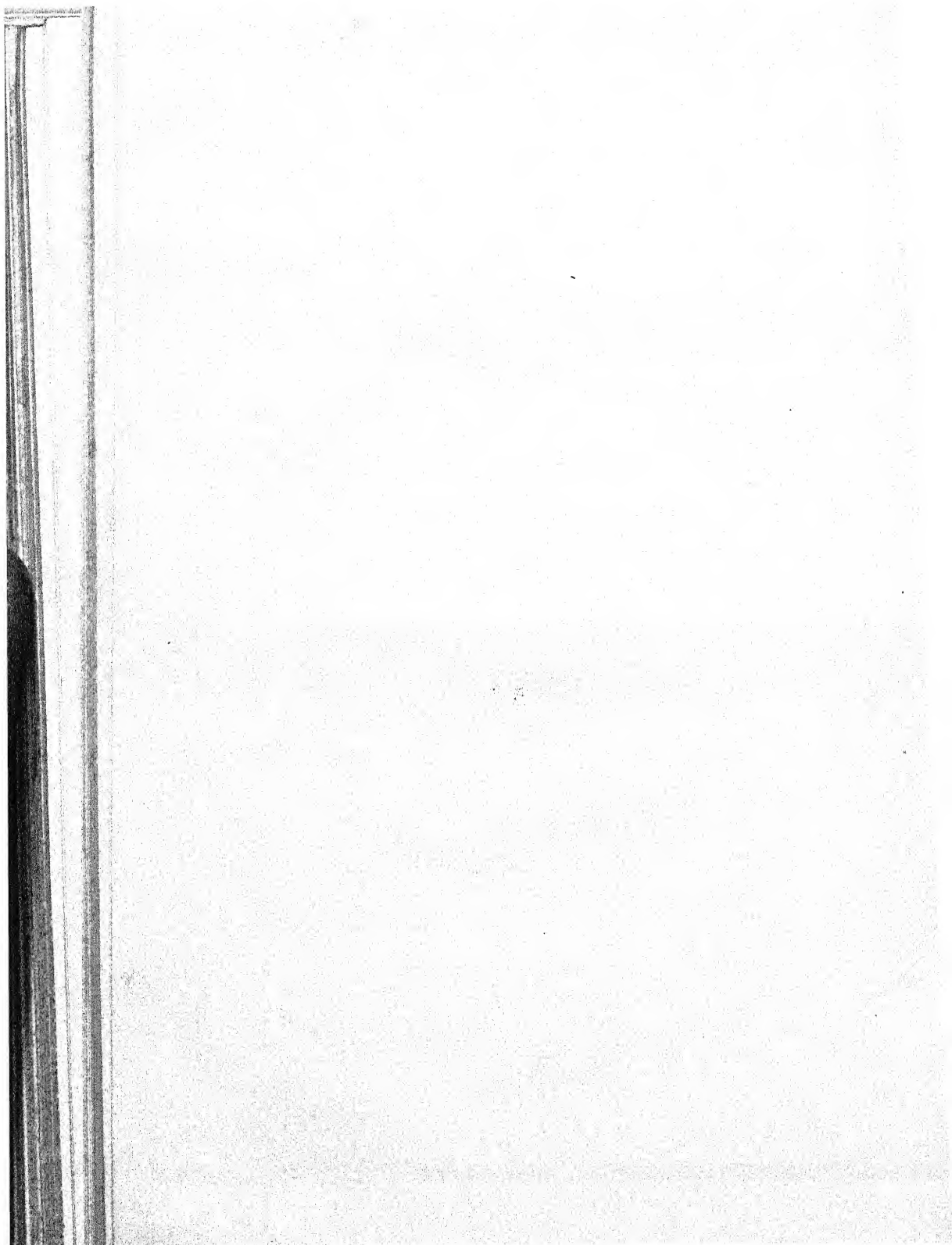
मोती झालर मोती झालर मोती झालरी,
 सोहाग मांगन चली बेटी दादा दरबार;
 दादा देहु ना सोहाग, वारी भोरी के सोहाग, नैहरवाली के सोहाग ।

देवों बेटी देवों बेटी बजन बजाए,
 सजन हंकारी लेहुना कवन बेटी अंचरा पसार;
 वारी भोरी के सोहाग, नैहर वाली के सोहाग ।
 भील मोरा अंचरा भरीए झुरी जाए,
 लेहुना कवन दुलहा पटुका पसार;
 वारी भोरी के सोहाग नैहरवाली के सोहाग ।
 भील मोरा पटुका भरीए झुरी जाए,
 लेहुना कवन समवी बरधी लदाए,
 मोरी धीआ के सोहाग, वारी भोरी के सोहाग ।

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सोहाग मांगे गेलों अपना दादा दरबार,
 देहो दादी रानी अपनी सोहाग,
 वाली भोली के सोहाग, नैहरवाली के सोहाग ।
 सिर सेनुर होके लागे, नयना काजर होके लागे,
 अगर चन्दन होके लागे, चनन कटारी होके लागे ।
 सोहाग मांगे गेलों अपना भइया दरबार,
 भौजी रानी के सिर सेनुर होके लागे नयना काजर होके लागे,
 दातों मीसी होके लागे, अगर चन्दन होके लागे ।

परीक्षन



परीछन

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सोने के कजरबटा लेले अम्बा बाहर अइली रे,
रैनी के मातल दुलहा अम्बा नाहीं चीन्हे रे ।
दहीआ अच्छत लेले चाची बाहर अइली रे,
रैनी के मातल दुलहा चाची नाहीं चीन्हे रे ।
पान के बीड़ा लेले भाभी बाहर अइली रे,
रैनी के मातल दुलहा भाभी नाहीं चीन्हे रे ॥

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अरे माइ अपना सुन्दर वर के गारी ना देवों ।
बबुआ के माई नउआ बहु, बबुआ ना गरीअइवों;
अरे माई अइसन सुन्दर वर के गारी ना देवों ।
बबुआ के भौजी बरीआ बहु, बबुआ ना गरीअइवों,
अरे माई अपना दुलरुआ वर के गारी ना देवों ।
बबुआ के बहिनी मलिया बहु, बबुआ ना गरीअइवों,
अरे माई अपना सुन्दर वर के गारी ना देवों ।

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उठु उठु गरभइतीनि पहीरु पटोर रे,
रैनी के मातल दुलहा मड़वन ठाढ़ रे ।
ना उठे गरभइतीनि गोतीनी ना पहीरे पटोर रे,
रैनी के मातल दुलहा मड़वन ठाढ़ रे ।
हाथी एक संवारली आवे रे, ताही चढ़ी आवेले दुलहादमाद रे ।

२१९

आपन राम मों अपने परीछी, केहु जनी छुबो मोरा राम रे ।
राम के माथे मउर भला शोभेला, परीछीला राम के लीलार रे ।
परीछन करे चलेली सासु सुन्दर वदन निहारी रे,
अरे केहु जनी छुबो मोरा राम रे ॥

२२०

रसे रसे मोरा बाबू चले पतीवाहे के जामल रे ।
 कनर कनर मोरा बहु चले हरजोता के जामल रे ॥

२२१

मचीआ ही बैठली कवन सासु आदीत मनावेली रे,
 आदीत हम पर होखीना दयाल बहुआ पग ढारसु रे ।
 आदीत उगहीना पवले पह नहीं फाटेला रे,
 आरे खिड़की ही डंडीआ कलकली बहुआ पग ढारेली रे ।

२२२

इ मत जनीह कवन देई आवली चेरीआ तोहार,
 चेरीआ ही चेरीआ तु जन कर आवेली पुत बहुआर ।
 इ मत जनीह कवनी देई आवेली चेरीआ तोहार,
 चेरीआ ही चेरीआ तु जनी कर आवेली गोतीनी तोहार ॥

२२३

माई आजार पुछे बहीनी दुलार पुछे रे ।
 अरे बाबू काई काई दान दहेज पवल वोही ससुरारी घरवा रे ।
 सेर जोखी सोना पवलों, पसेरी जोखी रूपा पवलों रे,
 अरे माई एक नहीं पवलों में बेनीया त वोही ससुरारी घरवा रे ।
 जनी बाबू हहरहु जनी बाबू कहरहु हो ।
 बाबू करी देवों दूसर वीआह, त वोही घरवा बेनी मीलीहें हो ।

२२४

हंसत खेलत मोरा बाबू गइले मन वेदीला काहे अइले रे ।
 सासु छीनरीआ ने जोग कइली मन वेदीला उहे अइले रे ।
 सरहज छीनरीआ ने जोग कइली मन वेदीला उहे अइले रे ।
 साली छीनरीआ ने जोग कइली मन वेदीला उहे अइले रे ।

२२५

हाथी साजु घोड़ा साजु बाबा हो कवन बाबा,
 हो बाबा भली भांति साजु बरीआत ससुर घरवा लुटी लेवों रे ।

से सुनी कवन सुहवा लारो ना घोटेली वोरो ना बांधेली हो,
अरे माई कैसे कैसे पीअवा परबोधवी बाबाही घरवा राख लेवो रे ।
अंचरा डसाइ देवों बेनीया डोलाई देवों, अरे माई ।
अैसे अैसे पीअवा प्रबोधवी बाबाही घरवा राख लेवों रे ।

२२६

परीछन करे चलेली वर कामीन अरसी सीन्होरा हाथ रे ।
एक बेरी परीछेली माथे के मउर फेरु वर तीलक लीनार रे ।
माथे के मउर भूईआं गिरि परेला चूमेली वर के लीलार रे ॥

२२७

कर रे कदम रे तर ऊपरा बेइलीआ रे गांछी ।
परीछहु अरे ए अम्बा अपना सुन्दर रे वर ।
नयना जुड़ाई रे जइहें हृदया हुलसि रे जाई ।
परीछहु आहों ए भौजो अपना सुन्दर रे वर ।
नैना जुड़ाई रे जइहें हृदया हुलसि जाई ।

२२८

मोरा पीछुअरवा बेइलीया के गांछी रे ।
अरे वलु छछन वीछन भइले डाढ़ ।
बेइलीया के गछीआ मन भावे ।

घोड़वा चढ़ल अइले कवन दुलहा राजा,
आरे पगीआ अटक गइले डाढ़ ।
बेइलीया के गछीया मन भावे ।

फुलवा लोढ़त तुहु सुहवा कवन देइ,
आरे वलु पगीया छोड़ाई देहु डाढ़ ।
बेइलीया के गछीआ मन भावे ।
कैसे के पगीया छोड़ावों ए दुलहा,
आरे वलु हंसीहें नैहरवा के लोग ।

बेइलीया के गछीया मन भावे ।

आज त हंसीहें सुहवा नैहर के लोग हे,

आरे वलु वीहने ले डंड़ीया फनइवो नैहर लोगवा छुट जाई हे ।

२२६

पहीर लीहली लहंगा साड़ी और पटोर हो ।
चलु सखी मड़वा में आए बाबू वर हो ।
बांधले बसनती पगीआ मोती लागल कोर हो,
तीरछो कमानी भुआं चन्दन लीलार हो ।
भरो आंख काजल शोभे नाक सुगा ठोर हो ।
दांतवा अनार के दाना हीया में समाइ हो ।
भगवत अचारी सुन ले मोथीला में शोर हो,
धाई जाई दरशन करे अवधकिशोर हो ।

२३०

उठु उठु गोतीनी करहु शृंगार रे ।
उठि के ना आव गोतीनी परीछु दमाद रे ।
कइसे मैं आँउ गोतीनी गज मोती हार रे ।
टुट फूटी जइहें गोतीनी गज मोती हार रे ।
कइसन बाड़े गोतीनी दुलहा दमाद रे ।
लाख रुपैया गोतीनी गज मोती हार रे ।
लक्ष रुपैया गोतीनी दुलहा दमाद रे ।
टुट फूटी जइहें गोतीनी गज मोती हार रे ।
युग युग जीअसु गोतीनी दुलहा दमाद रे ।

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आए नवल वर सुन्दर आगन हे, सब सोहागीन मीली परीछे
दमाद हे ।
सोने के थारी में अच्छत दुब हे, सब सोहागीनी मीली परीछे
दमाद हे ।
बार ही बार मुख पोछत सासु, लोढ़ा धुमावत हृदया हुलसे हे ।
गते गते परीछेली सरहज प्यारी, वदन निरेखत पारेली गारी हे ।
माई तोहरी बाड़ी नीपटे अनारी हे, वस्त्र काहेना वर के संवारी हें ।
बाची तोहरी बाड़ी गवारी, आंख में काजर वर के काहेना कीए हे ।

बहीनी तोहारी बाड़ी अलबेली हे, पान के लाली मुख म कांहे ना
देली हे ॥

२३२

बोलेली कौशल्या रानी साजु बहीनी डाला हे, जइहें बबुआ
ससुर जी के गलीया दुअरा पर हाला हे ।
मइवा में खाड़ा दुलहा मन मुसकाई हे, मीथीला के नारी
सभ के सरधा पुराईव हे ।
अरे काजर धारी ए दुलहा भुषन संवारी हे, जनकपुर के नारी
सभ के नैनों के तारा हे ।

२३३

सोने के दउरा ले के जनक राजा ठाढ़ हे ।
बैठी बबुआ पालकी में आरती उतारी हे ।
अरे नींदीया घुमल दुलहा पलको मा ताके हे ।
बैठी बबुआ पालकी में, आरती उतारी हे ।
सोने के मौरी बबुआ के माथवा वीराजे हे ।
बैठी बबुआ पालकी में आरती उतारी हे ।
अरे जरी के जामा बाधु के अंगे वीराजे हे ।
बैठी बबुआ पालकी में, आरती उतारी हे ।
मखमल के मोजा बाबू के पांव वीराजे हे ।
बैठी बाबू पालकी में, आरती उतारी हे ।

२३४

आंख तोरा देखों रे दुलहा कजरो नाहीं ।
फुआ तोरी कजरवा के बहु दल साजही ना जाने,
ए सासु कतेक लुलुअइवू ए सासु कतेक भहरइवू ए सासु ;
अरे कान तोरा देखो ए दुलहा मोतीवो नाहीं ।
अम्बा तोरी सोनरवा के बहु दल साजहीना जाने ;
ए सासु कतेक लुलुअइवू ए सासु कतेक भहरइवू ए सासु ।
अंगे तोरा देखो ए दुलहा जोड़वो नाहीं ।

चाची तोरा दरजीया के बहु दल साजहीना जाने;
 ए सासु कतेक लुलुअइबू ए सासु कतेक भहरईबू ए सासु ।
 पांव तोरा देखो ए दुलहा मोजवो नहीं ।
 मामी तोरा चमरा के बहु दल साजही ना जानसु;
 ए सासु कतेक लुलुअइबू ए सासु कतेक भहरईबू ए सासु ।

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परीछहु अहो ए सासु अपना सुन्दर रे वर, नएना जुड़ाई रे जइहें
 जीअरा हुलसी रे जइहें ।
 सोने के थारी रे लेहु दीअरा वराई रे लेहु अच्छत सजाई रे लेहु
 परीछहु ।
 आहो ए सरहज अपना सुन्दर रे वर, जीअरा हुलसि रे जइहें नैना
 जुड़ाई रे जइहें ॥

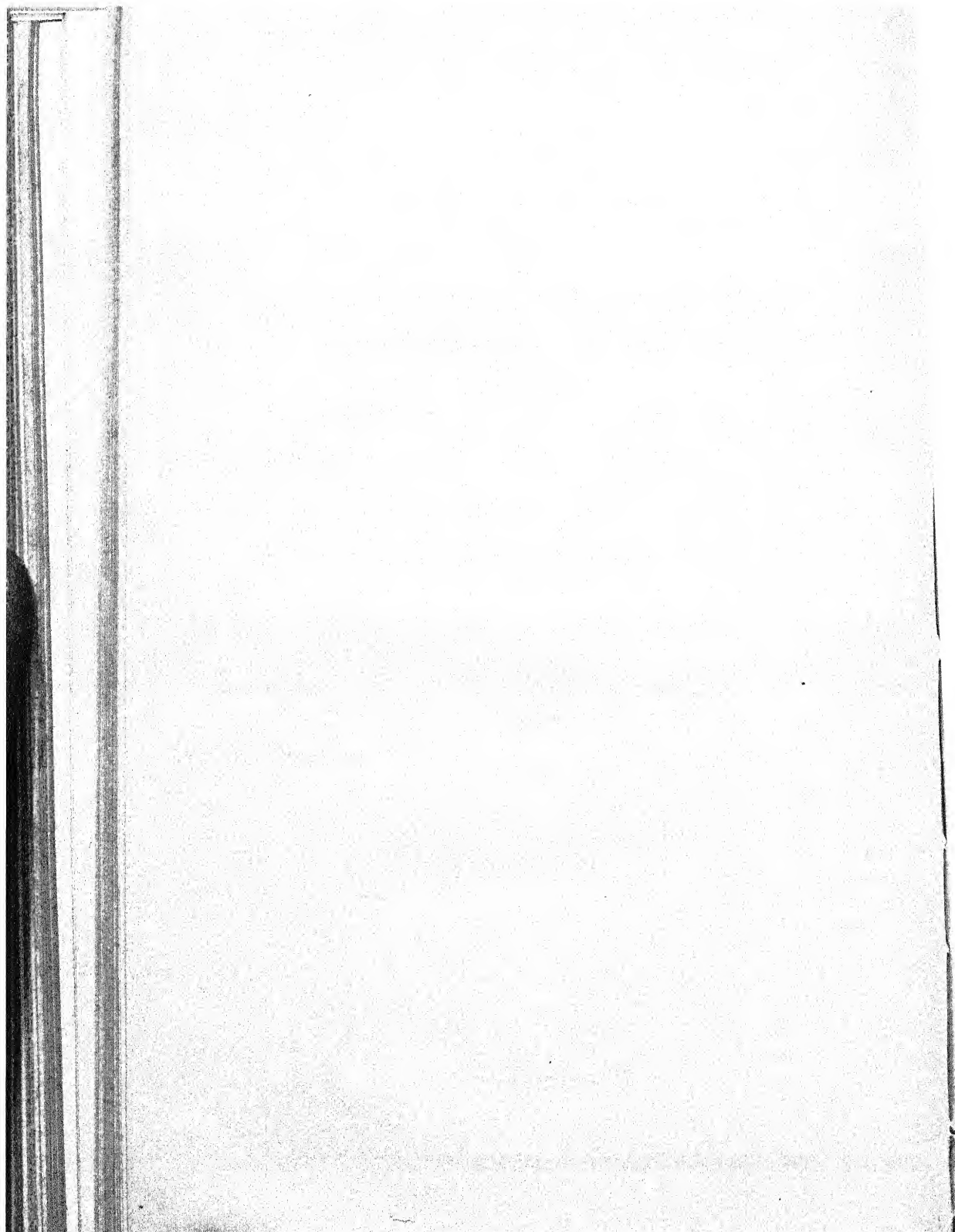
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तनि धीरे धीरे चलु रसिक रसिया ।
 दुलहा नवलाल अहां के मृदुल हेरि हेरि हुलसे मेरी छतिया तनि
 धीरे २ चलत ।
 कौन बुभोलन्हि कौन सिखौलन्हि अम्बा चाची दीदी न बहिनी
 रसिया सुनत ।
 सुखद बैन विहँसे सुखद ऐन सुमन घोरक सुर जै बोलिया ।
 तनि धीरे धीरे चलु रसिक रसिया ।

२३७

ननुआ सन पुत्र देखत सुन्दर, अयला गौरी बिबाही ।
 सांठि डाला चन्दन काजर कछु पोठि दीप लेसि हे ।
 सिर चन्दन नयन काजर मुख पाकल पान हे ।
 लाल धोती, लाल तौनी लाल डरा डोरी हे ।
 जानकी वर राम रघुबर धनुष दुटल आज हे ॥

कोहबर



कोहवर

२३८

चन्दन भीती परोरीला जहां उतरे नवाव कोहवर,
जहां उतरे नवाव कोहवर ।
जहां ले बइठइवो कवन दुलहा कहु बाबा के नाम कोहवर,
कहु चाचा के नाम कोहवर ।
बाबा जे हमरा कवन बाबा अम्बा गौरी हमार कोहवर ।
चाची जे हमरा कवन चाची गौरी हमार कोहवर ॥

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कोहवर लीखन चलली सरहजीआ हो हाथे गुलेला मुख पान ए ।
असन कोहवर लीखीह सरहजीआ हो जाही देखी नैना जुड़ाई ए ।
आरी पारी लीखीह सरहज बांस पुरईनीया बीचे बीचे लीखीह
सोहाग ए ।

ताही कोहवर सुतले कवन दुलहा जवरे कवन देई रानी ए ।
कौन हई सासु कौन हई सरहज कौन हई साली हमार ए ?
पीअर ओढ़न पीअरी पीताम्बर उहे हई अम्बा हमार ए ।
लाली चुन्दरीया रे नैना कजलवा उहे हई भाभी हमार ए ।
दौड़ी के अइली रे मारी परइली उहे हई बहीनी हमार ए ।
पही कोहवरवा प्रभु भौजी के लीखल उहे भाभी प्राण आधार ए ॥

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हरि बांस कटायल हे कोहवर धरायल हे सोने के कलसा पुरहर धरायल
मानिक दिअरा नेसायल बनवास के कोहवर ।
ताही पैसी सुतला दुलहा से कोने दुलहा जौरे पन्डित करे धिया ।
धिया हे हंसी पुछु विहुंसी पुछु दुलहा से कोने दुलहा कैसे चिन्हव
नीज सासु हे ।
लाली ओढ़न लाली पेनहन जीनका ठरै नैना लोर हे ।

२४१

कय प्रित नया कोहवर नया २ जोरल सिनेह ।
 सोहाग के रात दोसर नया निदिया ।
 पसीया लगल लाढो रोवय रे, नया निदिया ।
 केवार धयले मइआ है सोहाग के रात रे दोसर नया निदिया ।
 काहे बाबु दान दहेज जै तुकिया, काहे बाबु लाढो मेरी छोट
 काहे मन वेदिल ?
 नहि सासु दान दहेज जै तुकिया, नहि सासु धिया तेरि छोट,
 नहि मन वेदिल ।

असिया योजन सासु आयल रे नया निदिया
 पयलों में लाढो के सेज अधिक निद सोयलो ।

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रगरी छिपा भरी चन्दन कोहवर लिखबो ए ।
 ताही कोदवर सुतेला कवन दुलहा जेवरी कवनी सुहवा ए ।
 बाये करवट प्रभु सुतले मुख वो ना बोले ले ए ।
 पैसी जगावेली कवनी सासु काहे मन बेदील ए ।
 क्या बाबु दान दहेज थोर क्या रे सम्पत्ती थोड़ ए ।
 क्या बाबु दुलहिन छोट काहे रे मन वेदील ए ।
 नाहीं सासु दान दहेज थोर, नाहीं रे सम्पत्ति थोर ।
 नाही सासु दुलहिन छोट नाहीं रे मन वेदील ए ।
 आज कुत्ता जनी बोलसु पहरू जनी जागसु ए ।
 आज नवरंग हम तुरबी धनी के खाँआईवो ए ।
 उठु उठु धनी सुकुमारी त मुहवा पखारहु ए ।
 उठी कर मुहवा पखारू नवरंगी करू भोजन ए ।

जेवनार



जेवनार

२४३

समधी के गुण नारद वरणों, सारद भरत हूँकारी जी ।
 आये राजा दशरथ भूप सहस्र मिलि, एक से एक नृप भारी जी ।
 राम वो लक्ष्मण, भरत शत्रुघ्न, बाँये दहीन सुत चारी जी ।
 बैठे बरात बहु विधि आये, परोसन चतुर सयानी जी ।
 हंसी सखि पुछेली राम से बैन, रउरा के देवों एक गारी जी ।
 तीनसौ साठ मातु गृह रउरा, एक पुरुष कितनी नारी जी ।
 कैसे रहत धर्म पतिव्रत से, कै दिन की उनकी पारी जी ?
 इतना सुन उपरहित बोले; सुनहु जनकपुर की नारी जी ।
 राजा दशरथ जी के परिचय लेहु, ले जाहु अपनी अँटारी जी ।
 तुलसी दास जी गारी गावे, हरी के चरण बलिहारी जी ।

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हां जी वृन्दावन यमुना तट उपर, महामुनि न्योता पेठाए जी ।
 हां जी गोड़ रउरा लागीला आदित गोसाईं जेवना परोसन जाइ जी ।
 चन्दन काठ के पिढ़इ गढ़ाइला, ओरियन २ बिछाई जी ।
 बारी के पुत्र जिन पतल बिनाये सोने के खरींका लगाये जी ।
 जेवन आये कृष्ण कन्हैया पद्मीनी चंवर डोलायी जी ।
 भात दाल मैदा की रोटी, ता पर घीव ढरकाये जी ।
 पैगन बैगन सुगन्ध रस सलोना साग सम्पत्ति ले धाई जी ।
 अलुआ, ओल, कदुआ, करैला, परवर की तरकारी जी ।
 अरी, बरी, फुलौरी, तिलौरी, पापड़ बजका बनाये जी ,
 चटनी, अँचार, लउका के रइतो, अगस्त के फूल तराये जी ।
 कटहर, बड़हर, केला, कन्दा, नन्द सुत को जेवाये जी ।
 खट्टा मधुर जेइना निरंजन जेवना अमृत नाहीं डलायी जी ।
 जेइ जुगीती कृष्ण अँचवन किन्हा, सखि सब पान पेठायी जी ।

काफ़र जाफ़र, लौंग, सुपारी, पान पुरान पेठाए जी ।
सुरदास प्रभु आश चरण को हरि के चरण बलिहारी जी ।

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मुनि के साथ मुनि दशरथ सुत आये, आये जनक फुलवारी जी ।
चलु सखी सब देखन जाई, दिया भर नैन जुड़ाई जी ।
शीता सुन्दर सुभग सुजक्षण अङ्ग अङ्ग रूप बनाये जी ।
कि ये बालक हैं मुनि के, की हैं राज दुलारे जी ।
नहि बालक मुनी कुमार नहि मुनी सुत आये जी ।
माता कौशल्या पिता राजा दशरथ, उन्हीं के राज कुमार जी ।
गाय के गोबर अंगना लिपाइला, पान के पतल बिछाये जी ।
धान के भात जतन से रिधाइला, बूँट के दाल बनायी जी ।
खड़रा बजका सब बनाइला लँग लाची सब लगायी जी ।
लँग लाची सब लगाईला, भीम सेनी कपूर जी ।
परोसन भरत शत्रुघ्न आये, दहो दूध कीचड़ होइ जी ।
राम लक्ष्मण दुनों ओर विराजे, सकल चले जनवासे जी ।
वैच महल एक व्याति विराजे दशरथ सुत रघुवंशी जी ।
तुम जोग हम नाहीं ए रघुवर दरशन के बलिहारी जी ।
सोने के थारी में आरती साजीला जनक चले जनवासे जी ।
भइले ब्याह राम सिता के सब विधि काज संवारी जी ।
तबला निशान अयोध्या में बाजेला केकर जाला बरात जी ।
तुलसी दास प्रभु गारी बनावल गायीं सखी सब आयी जी ।
तुलसीदास प्रभु चरण परतु हैं हरि के चरण बलिहारी जी ।

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कंचन थार कपूर की वाती हां जी आरती उतारो बनवारी
कैसे देउं रे लला जी को गारी ।

हां जी गारी है प्रेम प्यारी
आज सुदिन दिन पाहुन आये हां जी हर्षि भवन उतारी ।
सोने के खाटि आंगन ले डासीला हां जी बस्त्र धरीना उतारी ।

सान के झारी गंगाजल पानी हां जी अर्जुन पांव पखारी ।
 पांव पखारी चरणोदक लिन्हा अत बड़ भाग्य हमारी ।
 पर पकवान जलेबी मिठाई ता पर घीव कटोरी ।
 दाखा, चिरौंजी, ताल मखाना, हां जो सिकरन को अधिकारी ।
 जेवन बइठले कृष्ण कन्हैया हां जी सब सखि पारेली गारी ।
 का देई सखि सब हमरा के गारी हां जी हम तीन लोक के ठाकुर ।
 जब रउरा हईं तीन लोक के ठाकुर हां जी काहे के अइली ससुरारी ।
 देहु सखिया सब हमरा के गारी हां जी हम लेबो पटुका पसारी ।
 माता रउरी यशोदा रानी हां जी नर मुनि देव बखानी ।
 फुआ रउरी कुन्ती देइ रानी हां जी बिन व्याहही पुत्र जन्मानो ।
 बहिनी रउरी सुभद्रा रानी हां जी अर्जुन संग सिधारी ।
 बाबा रउरे नन्द बाबा हैं हां जी कमरी ओढ़त दिन जाई ।
 रउरा कइली ग्वालिन संग नाच हां जी कंहवां तक गुण गांथी ।
 इतना अवगुण कृष्ण रउरा में पायो हां जी सो तीनों लोक के ठाकुर ।
 हमरा आगे कृष्ण जनि रउरा बोलीं हां जी सब हम देवों उधारी ।
 कैसे देऊं रे कन्हैया जी को गारी ॥

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सत्यभामा को ग्रहण हित सत्राजीत न्योता पठाये जी ।
 जेवन बैठेले बन बनवारी सखी सब गावेली गारी जी ।
 सुनिय सुन्दर गारि हमारी सुन लिजै तब भोजन किजै जी ।
 रवा तो सुत बासुदेव देवकी के नन्द के लाल कैसे कह्ये जी ।
 रउरी फुआ कुन्ती देइ रानी बिन व्याहे पुत्र जन्मायो जी ।
 रउरी बहिनी सुभद्रा देइ रानी अर्जुन संग सिधारी जी ।
 रउरी भौजी द्रौपदी देइ रानी पांच पांडवा की प्यारी जी ।
 जेइ जुगुती कृष्ण अंचवन लागे पान पुरान पठाये जी ।
 मेवा पान गुनाब मंगायो भीतर भवन सुलायो जी ।
 कोहबर में सब सखिया सयानी मस्त भरी सब आयी जी ।
 हंसी हंसी बोले कुंज बिहारी सब कर मन मोह लेई जी ।

हां जी भोजन समय जानि मिथिला पति दशरथ बोलि पठाये जी ।
 सुतन सहित प्रिय जन नृप जन सुतन सहित नृप आये जी ।
 आगे होइ भेंट करी परस्पर मन्दिर लेइ आये जी ।
 चन्दन काठ के चौकी बनाये ता पर नृप बैठाये जी ।
 जन जन प्रीति कंचन की थाली मनि गन की है सुराही जी ।
 व्यञ्जन चतुर परोसन लागे सखि सब गावेली गारी जी ।
 गावत गारी ले ले नाम राजा जनक नृप दशरथ जी की नारी जी ।
 गाली तुमही सुनावत भूपति इ गारी प्रेम प्यारी जी ।
 सुनिय भूप बिलग मति मानवी जानबी बात हमारी जी ।
 तुम तो गोर कौशल्या रानी गोरी श्याम सुन्दर केहि जाति के जी ।
 सुन्द सुलोचनी सुमुखी सुशीला सुभग अंग की नारी जी ।
 श्याम सुन्दर अइसन पुत्र जन्माये लिङ्ग ही न्योता पेठाए जी ।
 भीतर भवन महासुनि राखीन तिनसे सुत जन्माई जी ।
 रामजी के माता भरत जी की जननी मुनि के मन चित लायी जी ।
 एक पतिव्रता सुमित्रा रानी तिनकर बालक गोरा जी ।
 सुनिय भूपति सजन उपरोहीत मानवी बात हमारी जी ।
 मिथिला पति के कन्या बिबाह के अवगुण सकल दुराई जी ।
 सहित समाज हंसत नृप दशरथ रसे रसे भोजन पाये जी ।
 भोजन करि जब अंचवन किन्हा पान सुभग सुपारी जी ।
 भोजन करि के विदा मांगी के नृप जनवासे आये जी ।
 तुलसी दास ठाढ़ कर जोरे जुठन के अधिकारी जी ।

रत्न जड़ी रत मनी के कटोरा,

षट रस भोग लगाये रघुनाथ लला के ।

चरण कमल बलिहारी रघुनाथ कुंअर के ।

सोने के सिंहासन बैठे राजा रामचन्द्र,

सुन्दर बदन निहारी रघुनाथ लला के ।

जेवन बैठेले राम से लक्ष्मण,
 सखि सब देहही ना गारी रघुनाथ लला के ।
 गरिया एक हम दिहीं राजा रामचन्द्र,
 जऊं रउरा सुनी मन लायो रघुनाथ लला के ।
 तनीसौ साठ मातु गृह रउरा,
 सोवत जनक अंटारी रघुनाथ लला के ।
 राम हंसे लक्ष्मण मुंह बिजुकावे,
 परेला माता जी के गारी रघुनाथ लला के ।
 गारी के अमरख जन कर लक्ष्मण,
 गारी है प्रेम प्यारी रघुनाथ लला के ।
 हंसत सखी सब दे दे ताली,
 भले लक्ष्मण समुझायी रघुनाथ लला के ।
 जऊं तोरा बबुआ हो भाई प्यारी,
 काहे को आये ससुरारो रघुनाथ लला के ।
 देई रउरा गारी दिआयो रउरा गारी,
 हम लेबो पटुका पसारी रघुनाथ लला के ।
 तुलसी दास प्रभु आश चरण के,
 हरी के चरण बलिहारी रघुनाथ लला के ।

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हां जी जाही दिन रघुवर जनकपुर आये,
 देखन जाये सारी दुनिया जी !
 हां जी हां जी कोइ सखि ठाढ़ कोइ सखि बैठल,
 कोइ सखि चलत निहारी जी ।
 हां जी हां जी अतलस लंहगा जड़ाव की साड़ी,
 कड़की रही नौरंगी जी ।
 हां जी हां जी चाल चले जैसे मस्त हाथी
 पांव बजे पैजनिया जी ।
 हां जी हां जी जनक महल में डसलीं पलंगिया,

बैठल चारो भैया जी ।
 हां जी हां जी भांकि भांकि भांकत नारी,
 भरोखन चितवत झलकत नारी जी ।
 हां जी हां जी जेवन बठेले चारो भैया,
 पहिन पीअर करधनिया जी ।
 हां जी हां जी सुनी रघुनन्दन एक बात पुरपरस,
 रउरा के देबों एक गारी जी ।
 तीन सौ साठ मातु गृह रउरा,
 सब में तीन पटरानी हां जी ।
 हां जी तीनों में एक जनक जी को दीजै,
 सेवा करीहे मन लाइ जी ।
 राम जी के माइ कौशल्या रानी,
 जेकर करत बड़ाई जी ।
 भरथ जी की माता कैकई रानी,
 इन्द्र करत बड़ाई जी ।

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राजा बृषभान जी न्योता पठाए कृष्ण लला चलि आये जी ।
 सखा सहित कृष्ण आये जी ।
 नावन नावन गोपी सब आये कृष्ण गडुर सब आये जी ।
 आय गये यमुना जी के तीरे पवन लागेला बालू जी ।
 उतरी पड़े यमुना तट उपर कृष्ण को तिलक चढ़ाए जी ।
 आयी कदम तर मुरली बजाये अर्जुन आये पुकारे जी ।
 सब सखिया मिलि देखन आये कैसा ललन बनि आये जी ।
 श्याम सुन्दर रूप अपार मुरली बजावत आय जी ।
 केदली बन के खम्भ मंगाये पानन माड़ो छवाये जी ।
 सोने के खाट आंगन लेइ डासीला वस्त्र धरी ना उतारी जी ।
 सोने के गेड़ आ गंगाजल पानी पांव परखारसु राजा जी ।
 पांव परखार चरणोदक लिन्हा अत बड़ भाग्य हमारी जी ।

चन्दन रगरी क चौका दिआए इंगूर से थरिया मंजाइ जी ।
 दान के उजे पतल बिनाये सोने के खरोका लगाये जी ।
 दाल भात मैदा की रोटी परवर की तरकारी जी ।
 पूड़ी कचौड़ी और छनौरी चिन्नी की है पगाइ जी ।
 पान कतर के भाजी बनाइला निब्वू कतर के अंचार जी ।
 सोने की थालो में जेवना परोसीला गडुआ से घीव ढरकाइ जी ।
 पीअर धोती पहिर साला परोसेले सरहज बेनिया डोलाइ जी ।
 जेवन बैठेले कृष्ण कन्हैया सखि सब गावेली गारी जी ।
 हम त जे हईं तीन लोक के ठाकुर हमरा रउरा कैसे गारी जी ।
 जऊं रउरा हईं तीन लोक के ठाकुर काहे के आये ससुरारी जी ।
 देइ रउरा गारी दिआइ रउरा गारी हम लेबों पटुका पसारी जी ।
 ऐसो गारी को गारी ना कहबो, गारी है प्रेम प्यारी जी ।
 ऊंच मंदिर चढ़ माता निरेखे कैसे ललन चलि आये जी ।
 हंसो हंसा पुछेलो मातु यशोदा रानी कैसे ललन ससुरारी जी ।
 साली से सरहज अधिका प्यारी सासु गंगाजल पानी जी ।
 दस मास बेटा एही कोखि राखोला कबहूँ ना कइल मोर बढ़ायो जी ।
 एक ही रात बेटा गइल ससुरारी सासु के इतना बढ़ाई जी ।
 तुही त अम्मा हो दुनिया दिखावेइ सासु दिहनी राधा प्यारी जी ।
 तोहरी कसम अम्मा नन्द बाबा के अब ना जाइबी ससुरारी जी ।
 हमको तुमको नन्द बाबा को देत सखी सब गारो जी ।
 जुग जुग बाढ़ो बेटा तोरी ससुरारी नित्य आवहु नित्य जाहु जी ।

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हाँ जी राम से लक्ष्मण चले ससुरारी कौशल्या ब्याकुल होइ
 जाइ जी ।

आजु की रात हम कैसे बिताइबों राम चले ससुरारी जी ।
 जनि अम्मा हर्षहु जनि अम्मा मंखहु जनि चित करु बैराग जी ।
 आजु की रात बिताइबी ससुरारी भोर भये चली आयी जी ।
 हमरे पलंग रउरा सुतबी माता हो राम भजन गुण गाइबी जी ।

जाइ बरात जनकपुर उतरे लोग तमाशे हैं आयी जी ।
 केहू देखे ठाढ़ केहू देखे निहूरल केहू देखे शीश नवायी जी ।
 मिनती से बोलेले राजा जनइया रीखे कौन जेवनार बनायी जी ।
 अंचरा पसारी कर जोरेली सीता रानी बाबा से विनती हमारी जी ।
 छप्पन भाति जेवनार बनाइबी जेवसु अवध बिहारी जी ।
 आनि पलंगरी आंगन ले बिछाइबी वस्त्र धरीना उतारी जी ।
 सोने के भारी गंगाजल पानी वारी ने पांव पखारी जी ।
 चन्दन चौकी आन गढ़ाइबी आंगन बीच धराइबी जी ।
 आनि जाजीम भारी बिछाइबी सखि सब बैठहू आयी जी ।
 जेवन बैठेले राम लक्ष्मण दीहीना सखि सब गारी जी ।
 राम जेवले लक्ष्मण मुंह बिजुकावले परेला पिता जी के गारी जी ।
 अपना महल से निकले सीता देइ मुख पर आंचल डाली जी ।
 हमरा लला जी के गारी दिहल कौन दिहल बिजुकायी जी ।
 तब जाइ बोलेली सखिया सलेहर हमहीं दिहलीं उनको गारी जी ।
 जेइ जुगुती राम अंचवन किन्हा सखि सब पान पेठाइ जी ।
 पान लेइ राम हृदय लगावे ले सखिया से मिनती हमारी जी ।
 देही सखिया लक्ष्मण के विदाइ रोयी भरेली महतारी जी ।
 जऊं रउरा ए राम माइ प्यारी काहे ना साथ ले आयो जी ।
 जनक अंटारी में आनि सुलायी सुखी बन घर जायी जी ।
 हंसत राम हंसत लक्ष्मण हंसत सकल दे ताली जी ।
 तुलसी दास प्रभु आश चरण के हरि के चरण बलिहारी जी ।

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दर्जी लला मैं तो दर्जी हूं ।
 कौना शहरिया से आये जी ।
 आजम गढ़ से पुर पटना से दिल्ली शहरिया से आये जी ।
 रेशम रे लहंगा कुसुम के साड़ी चोलिया रतन किनारी जी ।
 से चोलिया बेसहेले रसिया कौन लाल लेहुना कौन बहु साइ जी ।
 आव ना सेज हमारी जी ।

कैसे मैं आज रसिया सेज तुम्हारी आज छैलवा के पारी जी ।
तोहरा छैलवा के हाथी देवों छपरा शहर जमींदारी जी ।
आजम गढ़ जमींदारी जी ।
दर्जी लला मैं तो दर्जी लला ।

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सांफे चन्दा उगतु हैं सांफे चन्दा उगतु हैं सुकवा उगे भितुसार जी ।
देखु चेरिया देखु चेरिया लउकत जाला बरिआत जी ।
ऐ अवधपुर के राजा ऐ अवधपुर के राजा ऋषि सब ब्याहन
आये जी ।

धन्य धन्य भाग्य जनकजी राम अइसन बर पाये जी ।
गिरी पर्वत से आनि मंगाये पानन माड़ो छवाये जी ।
सोरही गाय के गोबर मंगाये पुरइनी बेदी बनाये जी ।
सोने के कलशा पुरहथले धराइ ला चौमुख दीप बरायी जी ।
गज मोती चौका पुरायी जी ।
गज मोती चौका पुराये राम सिया बैठाये जी ।
धन्य धन्य भाग्य जनक जी राम अइसन बर पाये जी ।
राहुल पलंग मंगाये वस्त्र धरीना उतारी जी ।
चन्दन काठ के चौकी मंगाये भांति भांति बिछाये जी ।
आम के पतल आनि धराये ओरियन ओरियन बिछाये जी ।
ओरियन मोती झालर लगाये जेवन लाल बुलाये जी ।
जेवन बैठे राम से लक्ष्मण सखि सब गारी गावे जी ,
ले ले नाम पुरुष अरु नारी सब सखि गावेली गारी जी ।
जेइ के अंचवन किन्हा पान पुरान पेठाए जी ।
पान के बीड़ा सखि सब पेठावे राम ही प्रेम दिखावे जी ।
धन्य धन्य भाग्य रउरी जनक जी राम के चरण पखारे जी ।
कर जोरि बिनती करे राजा जनक जी हम को धन्य बनाये जी ।
तुलसीदास प्रभु आश चरण के हरी के चरण बलिहारी जी ।

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हां जी जब रे राम जनकपुर उतरे देखन दौड़ी है दुनिया जी ।
 हां जी कंचन द्वार तास की अंगिया कनक जड़ावल ओढ़नी जी ।
 हां जी कंचन थार कचौड़ी परोसल सोरही के धीव चभोरी जी ।
 हां जी जेवन बैठेले राम लक्ष्मण देहु सखि सब गारी जी ।
 हां जी हम त जे हई देश पत्री के ठाकुर हमरा के कइसन गारी जी ।
 हां जी जो रउआ हई देश पत्री के ठाकुर काहे के अइली ससुरारी जी ।
 हां जी दिहीं रउरा गारी दिआइं रउरा गारी हम लेबो पटुका
 पसारी जी ।

हां जी हंसी हंसी पुछेली माता कौशल्या कैसी ललन ससुरारी जी ।
 हां जी साली से सरहज अधिक प्यारी सासु गंगाजल पानी जी ।
 हां जो दस ही मास पुत एही कोखी रखलें कबहीं नाकइल बड़ाई जी ।
 एक ही रात बेटा गइल ससुरारी सासु के इतनी बड़ाइ जी ।

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हां जी समधी के घरे समधी पाहुन आये नारद करत बड़ाई जी ।
 हां जी राजा दशरथ एक भूप सहस्र दस एक से एक व्रत धारी जी ।
 हां जी जब बरिआत जनवासे आये बांये दहीने सुत चारी जी ।
 हां जी सुर नर मुनि सब देख सिद्धाइल धन्य दशरथ व्रतधारी जी ।
 जेवन बैठेले भूप सहस्र दस, एक से एक व्रतधारी जी ।
 हां जी बारहो व्यञ्जन छप्पन तरकारी परोसेली जनक दुलारी जी ।
 हां जी रामलला एक अर्ज करतु हैं सुनहु ऋषि की नारी जी ।
 एक सत्य साठी मातु तुम्हारे घर एक पुरुष की हैं नारी जी ।
 हां जी इतना सुनि उपरोहित बोले हमहु देबु कुछ गारी जी ।
 हां जी सब दिन अग्नि सहतु हैं लाज जी आजु देवता की है पारी जी ।

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जबसे राम जनकपुर आये देखन आये सारी दुनिया जी ।
 हां जी भांकि भांकि सखि सब देखन लागी जस रे भांकेली
 रावल मुनिया जी ।

हां जी केहु सखि ठाढ़ केहु सखि बैठली केहु सखि फिरती
बिकानी जी ।

भाव के भात प्रेम के फुलको दया के दाल बनायी जी ।
हां जी नेह के निबूआ करन के हरदी करनी करीला प्रभु जेइ जी ।
जेवही बैठले राम से लक्ष्मण देहु सखी सब गारी जी ।
हां जी हम त जे हई देश पत्री के राजा हमरा के कइसन गारी जी ।
हां जो जउ रउआ हई देश पत्री के राजा काहें के अइली
ससुरारी जी ।

हां जी राम दोहाइ क्रिया परमेश्वर अब ना जाईबी ससुरारी जी ।
हां जी बाढ़हु लाल जी राउर ससुरारी नित्य रे भोजन नित्य
गारी जी ।

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धन्य भाग्य हमारी धन्य भाग्य हमारी कृष्ण लिहले अवतार जी ।
धन्य नगर अयोध्या जंह राम लिये अवतार जी ।
धन्य मातु कौशिल्या धन्य मातु कौशिल्या जिन्ह रे रखे दस
मास जी ।
धन्य बहीनी सुभद्रा धन्य बहीनी सुभद्रा जिन्ही रे खेलावे दिन
रात जी ।

धन्य भाग्य हमारी धन्य भाग्य हमारी राम आये ससुराल जी ।
आइया पाऊं मैं लाल जी के आइया पाऊं मैं लाल जी के चली के मैं
जेवना बनाऊंगी जी ।

खोआ खांड मिठाई फौरन दूध मलाइ जी ।
राम जेवन लागे राम जेवन लागे सखीन पंखा डुलाइ जी ।
धन्य भाग्य हमारी धन्य भाग्य हमारी राम आये ससुराल जी ।

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सोने की झारी गंगाजल पानी हांजी पांव पखारे नउआ बारी जी ।
इंगूर घोरी घोरी चौका लिपाये सिन्दुर थाल मेजाये जी ।
मोतीसार चौरा के भात रिन्हाये हांजी मूंग के कहीं जी उपरा
गेन्हरिआ के साग जी ।

जेवन बैठले राम चारों भाई हां जी सखी सब गारी गाइ जी ।
 राम जेवले लक्ष्मण हाथ सिकोरेले हां जी परेला माता जी के
 गारी जी ।
 जेवहु ए लक्ष्मण जेवहु लक्ष्मण आजु की गारी प्यारी जी ।
 हां जी कैसे माता जी को गारी जी ।

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बृषभान लाल जी के न्योता पेठावेले कृष्ण लाल चलि आइ जी ।
 हां जी कनक चौकी आंगन में डासल वस्त्र धरीना उतारी जी ।
 हां जी माथे जे उन्हुका भगवती उरेहल कसांगिन की छवि
 न्यारी जी ।

हां जी काने कुंडल गले तुलसी के माला हाथे सोने के अंगूठी जी ।
 भात ही रीन्ही मोती के गजला दाल में घीव डाली जी ।
 हां जी बारा से बारी औरी फुलवरी ले दधि में डाली जी ।
 हां जी जेवन बैठेले कृष्ण कन्हैया देही सखी सब गारी जी ।
 हां जी माता जे रउरी यशोदा रानी समधी लेइ सीधारी जी ।
 हां जी फुआ रउरी कुन्ती रानी बिन व्याहही पुत्र जन्माइ जी ।
 हां जी वहिनी जे रउरी सुभद्रा रानी उनहूं जे पांच भतारी जी ।
 पांच भतार पचोतर बिनती उन पतिव्रता कहावहि जी ।

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वृन्दा वन यमुना तट उपर कुंज भवन मन भायी की हां जी ।
 नन्द के लाल यशोदा के पुत्र कृष्ण के न्योता पठाई की हां जी ।
 गोप ग्वाल सखा सब लेइ के महा प्रभु न्योता ही आये की हां जी ।
 गोप सखा धन शोभित माघो ओढ़े पिताम्बर फहराई की हां जी ।
 आनी यमुना जल पांव पखारों पुन्य चरण फल पायी की हां जी ।
 जल पतल आनि परोसों यमुना जल छिड़कायी की हां जी ।
 सोने के किरिची दुती भात परोसीला चान्द सूर्य व्योति धाईकी हां जी ।
 कटहर, बड़हर, केला, कइता, कदुआ के रइतो बनायी की हां जी ।
 क्कोहड़ा, कचरी, अदवरी, तिलौरी, पापड़ आनि छनाइ की हां जी ।

छेमा, छेमी, परोरा, परोरी, भौंगा, भौगी बनाये की हां जी ।
 मुंगवरी, दनवरी, औरी कचनार, अगस्त के फूल तराये की हां जी ।
 दही दूध जब लेई घोरीला अमृत नाहीं तुलाई की हां जी ।
 सब रंग भोजन करहु निरञ्जन साग सम्पत्ति रस नाही की हां जी ।
 सोने की भारी लिए राधे सुन्दरी कृष्ण के अंचवाई की हां जी ।
 सोने के खरीका लिए राधे सुन्दरी खरीका लेहु मैं लायी की हां जी ।
 कर जोरि बिनती करे राधा सुन्दरी चारों से वचन हमारी की हां जी ।

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एक समय वृषभान के नन्दनी मनि मय मण्डप छाये जी ।
 वृन्दा वन यमुना तट ऊपर कुंज भवन मन भाये जी ;
 जोत्री से पुत्री कपूर के पैजन कौन सखि न्योता पठायी जी ।
 जोत्री से पुत्री कपूर के पैजन ललिता सखि न्योता पठायो जी ।
 हां जी महाप्रभु न्योता आये जी ।
 सोने के खाटी आंगन ले डासीला वस्त्र धरी ना उतारी जी ।
 गोप सखा धन शोभित माधो पिताम्बर फहराये जी ।
 ले यमुना दल पांव पाखारीला दुति वन्दन फल पायो जी ।
 आम के पतल आनि परोसीला गंगा जल छिड़काये जी ।
 सोने के परात में भात परोसीला चन्द्र सूर्य ज्योति धाए जी ।
 लेई गंगा यमूनी दाल परोसीला डब्बून घीव ढरकाये जी ।
 बारा, बरी खड़ेरा, धोखा, आम के छेनी बनाये जी ।
 कोहड़ा, कचरी, अदौरी, तिलौरी, लउका के रइतो बनाये जी ।
 कटहर, बड़हर, केला कइता, पापड़, वज्रका बनाये जी ।
 अलुआ, ओल, करैला, कन्दा, आनन्द कन्द बनाये जी ।
 फिंगा फिंगी, परोरा परोरी, सेमा सेमी तराये जी ।
 जिरहुल, मूंग और कचनार, अगस्त के फूल तराये जी ।
 सब रंग भोजन किजिये निरञ्जन साग सम्पत्ति रस नाहीं जी ।
 दधि दूध साथ घोरीला अमृत नाही तुलायी जी ।
 सोने के खरीका लिये राधे श्यामा खरीका दस मैं लायो जी ।

काफर, जाफर, लौंग, सुपारी, पान पुरान लगाई जी ।
कर जोरि बिनती करे सखि ललिता सेवा मेरी करो स्वीकार श्री ।
दया दृष्टि राखि निरंजन सखि सब कहे कर जोरी जी ।

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शारद के गुण नारद वरणे ।
रिद्धि सिद्धि नव द्वारे खड़ी इन्द्र कुवेर भण्डारी जी ।
छप्पन भोग दशरथ नित्य जेवत यहां अधिक तैयारी जी ।
जब राजा दशरथ जेवन आये बांये दहीन सुत चारी जी ।
सोने के थारी में पूड़ी परोसीला मनगन की है सुराही जी ।
जनक थार दिये सब ही को तुम्हा भरल गंगा पानी जी ।
टिकरी, खूर्मा, और बलुसाही, मित्रा, सेव मिठाई जी ।
घेंवड़ा, पापड़, और रस भोजन, मिश्री की है पगायी जी ।
मिठा खात सब लोग अकुलानी दिही न बहुत तरकारी जी ।
नेनुआ, बैगन, और करैला, परवर, की तरकारी जी ।
तिता खात सब लोग अकुलानी षट रस को तैयारी जी ।
आम, अनार, तूत और निब्बू मिश्री की है पगायी जी ।
आग, सलोना दशरथ नृप जेवत मिथीला की तैयारी जी ।
चटनी खात दशरथ जीभ चाटत मांगत हैं बहु वारा जी ।
तुलसी दास प्रभु आश चरण की हरी के चरण बलिहारी जी ।

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नित्य उठ मोहन हठ करतु हैं कर दिन्हे तुम प्रचार की हां जी ।
लोभ मोह दरिआव बहुत हैं लहर में जग संसार की हां जी ।
प्रेम के नाव चढ़े यदुवंशी वोर देत मझधार की हां जी ।
भांभर नइया अवगुण बहुत है प्रभु पतवार की हां जी ।
बेयार पवन चहुँ ओर झकोरे झिझोरी खेले महारानी की हां जी ।
इबत प्रज को राखि लियो हैं गोबरधन गिरधारी की हां जी ।
पार लगावहु नैया किनारे खेवन हार गवार की हां जी ।
चंपा में चतुर्भुज विराजे जोग जुगत फुलवारी की हां जी ।

राधा कृष्ण कतेक रूप वरणों फूल केवला कचनार की हां जी ।
 एक सुवास और गंध वासल भौरा रहत रखवार की हां जी ।
 कंचन रंग चतुर रंग गले वैजन्त्री के माला प्रगट सिरजन हारा की हां जी ।
 चारि खान जग जीव उधो सिरजन हार बिहारी की हां जी ।
 नारी सुभद्रा गर्व से मातल सुन्दर छवि विराजे की हां जी ।
 पूजा करन निकली मन्दिर से अर्जून संग सिधारी की हां जी ।
 भूषण अभरन पावन पावन सब मन विधि यौवन भारी की हांजी ।
 पास पड़ोसिन बन्द घर खोजेली छैला भतार रगीला की हां जी ।
 निर्गुण सगुण अगम निगम सब वरणों विस्तारी की हां जी ।
 खरीका ओ पानी पान खिआवेली पुलकत नन्द कुमार की हां जी ।
 अधम आधीन चरणोदक लिन्हा कृपा करने वाले की हां जी ।
 अवजन की प्रभु और भरोसा हम तो शरण तुम्हारी की हां जी ।
 अब प्रभु आश तुम्हारी की हां जी ।
 सूरदास प्रभु आश चरण की हरि के चरण वलिहारी की हां जी ।

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जब शिव शंकर ब्याहन चलले लोग देखहु बरिआती ।
 भूषण बसन शिव पहिनत नाहीं नङ्गे द्वारी भइले ठाढ़ जी ।
 सोने के पालकी शिव चढ़त नाहीं बुढ़वा बैल असवार जी ।
 आन्हर भैर लूल्ह और लंगड़ भूत पिचाश बरिआती जी ।
 सोने के चौकी शिव बैठत नाहीं मृग छाला आसन मारी जी ।
 इतना सुन गिरिराज बोले शिव जी हवे त्रिपुरारी जी ।
 जब शिव शंकर जेवन आये इन्द्रकुबेर भण्डारी जी ।
 पांच ही मुख पांच ओर विराजे कहंवा धरबी हम थारी जी ।
 सौ सौ मन से कम नहीं जेवत पेट मानो जस भाड़ी जी ।
 माठ मिठाई शिव जेवत नाहीं भांग धतूर पवहारी जी ।
 पर पकवान शिव जेवत नाहीं धतूर की गोली बनायी जी ।
 जब गिरिराज भांग मंगाये हर्षि चले जेवनार जी ।
 अम्बिका कहत अचंभा जनि मानहु शिव जी हवे त्रिपुरारी जी ॥

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बुधमान जी न्योता पठावले कृष्ण लाल चलि आये जी ।
 उतर पड़े यमुना जल ऊपर द्वादस तिलक तिलारे जी ।
 सब सखिन मिली देखन आयी कैसे बने यदुराई जी ।
 श्याम बरण रूप श्याम सुन्दर ऐसा बने हैं यदुराई जी ।
 सोने के खाटी आंगन ले डसाइला वस्त्र धरीना उतारी जी ।
 सोने के गेबुआ गंगाजल पानी पांव पखारे नउआ बारी जी ।
 पांव पखार चरणोदक लिन्हें अति बड़ भाग हमारी जी ।
 पांच ही पान के पतल मंगाये लैवगन डोभ डोभाये जी ।
 दाल भात मैदा की रीटी सोरही गाय के घीव जी ।
 बरी, फुलवड़ी, और दनवरी, परवर की तरकारी जी ।
 पीअरी धोती पहिन सार परोसेले सरहज पारेली गारी जी ।
 काहे सखि देइ सब हमरा के गारी हम तीन लोक के ठाकुर जी ।
 जउं रउरा हईं तीन लोक के ठाकुर काहे के अइली ससुरारी जी ।
 पारी सखि सब हमरा के गारी हम लेबों पटुका पसारी जी ।
 ऊँच महल चढ़ी अम्मा निरेखेली कृष्ण लला चढ़ी आये जी ।
 हंसी हंसी पुछेली माता यशोदा कैसी ललन ससुरारी जी ।
 साली से सरहज मइया अधिक प्यारी सासु गंगाजल पानी जी ।
 दस ही मास पुत्र एही कोखी रखलों कवहीं ना कहल बड़ाई जी ।
 एक ही रात बेटा गइल ससुरारी सासु के कहल बड़ाई जी ।
 राउर किरिया अम्मा नन्द बाबा किरिया अब ना जाइवो ससुरारी जी ।
 दिन दिन बाढ़ो बेटा रउरी ससुरारी नित्य रे आवहु नित्य जाहु जी ।
 दिन रे भोजन दिन दिन गारी हमरा भला सोदाई जी ।

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कृष्ण लला जी से अरज करतु हैं सुनि लीजै अरज हमारी की हां जी ।
 कोमल गात भाल चन्द्र विराजत चंचल अति सुकुमार की हां जी ।
 कुंज बिहारी तुम जे यदुवन्सी लिन्हें दसो अवतार की हां जी ।
 मोर मुकुट पिताम्बर शोभे गले वैजन्त्री के माला की हां जी ।

केहि विधि पाइवी दरश तुम्हारी हुलसत जिअरा हमारी की हां जी ।
 सोने के गढ़आ गंगाजल निर्मल कंचन जरीदार के सारी की हां जी ।
 कहत गुंजरी चरणोदक दिजीये लेहु मैं चरण पखारी की हां जी ।
 चन्दन के चौकी रत्न जड़ित है आसन मारे करतार की हां जी ।
 मधु मेवा पकवान मिठाई भिन्न भिन्न कौन प्रकार की हां जी ।
 जेवन बैठे कृष्ण दुलारे नयना भरे रतनारे की हां जी ।
 रुचि रुचि भोग लगावे नन्दलाला सुनो सबन के गारी की हां जी ।
 गारी प्रेम रस खान पठावेली गावत कुन परिवार की हां जी ।
 साली से सरहज सखिया सलेहर संग में प्राण अधारी की हां जी ।
 ललिता मनोहर वनी ब्रज बनिला कर लिये सोलहो शृंगार की हां जी ।
 हंसत बुलावत और समुभावत कर गहि राज दुलारी की हां जी ।
 घर घर से निकलेली सब भालिन गर्दा मचावत डगरी की हां जी ।
 खैंचत चीर दधि मोर छीनत हर्षित है ब्रज नारी की हां जी ।
 गावत गीत बजावत वंशी नाहीत मैं बरजो पुकारी की हां जी ।
 नाहक दान लगावे नन्दलाला किस्से मैं लावों गोहारी की हां जी ।
 दान के रीति करो बनवारी कैसे मैं करवों बिगाड़ की हां जी ।

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हां जी लिखी चिट्ठिया श्री कृष्ण जी भेजेले,
 सखिया से बिनती हमारी जी ।
 सब कोई आवेला हाथी से घोड़ा कृष्ण चन्दोल चढ़ि आई जी ।
 सोने के चौकी आंगन ले डालोला वैठी सजन जांघ जोरी जी ।
 सोने के गेढुआ गंगाजल पानी बारीनी पांव पखारी जी ।
 पांव पखारी चरणोदक लिन्हे अत बड़ भाग्य हमारी जी ।
 ओरियन २ पिढ़ई बिछाये वैठी सजन जांघ जोरी जी ।
 निहुरल निहुरल सार परोसे धोतिया मइल जनि होइ जी ।
 हंसि हंसि पूछत राजा बृषभान जी के ज्योनार बनायी जी ।
 रानी राधे ज्योनार बनायी कृष्ण जेवन आये जी ।
 दाल ही भात मैदा की रोटी परवर की तरकारी जी ।

आम अंचार करवदा ओ सुरन अदरख अजबी बनायी जी ।
 मास से मछली औरी तीतीर करुआ तेल तरायी जी ।
 भांकी भांकी देखेली साली सरहज सखि सब पारेली गारी जी ।
 हम त जे हई तीन लोक के ठाकुर हमरा रचरा कइसन गारी जी ।
 जऊँ रचरा हई तीन लोक के ठाकुर काहे के अइलीं ससुरारी जी ।
 बाबा रचरा नन्द अहीर मैया यशोमति रानी जी ।
 कुआ जे राउरी पांच भतारी बहिनी जे भइली छिनारी जी ।
 देहु सखिया सब हमरा के गारी हम लेबो पटुका पसारी जी ।
 जेई जुगुती जब अंचवन लागे देली सखिया सब बिदाई जी ।
 एक एक धोती एक एक रुपया सब सखि कइली विदायी जी ।
 पान के बीड़ा लबैंग सुपारी सब सखि देती हैं आयी जी ।
 इ बिड़वा मोर प्राण प्यारा सखिया से बिनती हमारी जी ।
 बाजत ताल बाजत मृदंग केकर जाली बहुआ जी ।
 राजा नन्द जी के बेटा कृष्ण जी उन कर जाली बहुआ जी ।
 हँसी हँसी पुछेली मातु यशोदा कैसी ललन ससुरारी जी ।
 साली से सरहज अधिक प्यारा सासु गंगाजल पानी जी ।
 क्या वरणों कहाँ लौं मैं कहँ ससुर अधिक गुमानी जी ।
 हंसि २ पुछेली बहिनी सुभद्रा कैसी ललन भौजायी जी ।
 अंखिया ऊंच मंहुआ रतनारी अंखिया अजब बनायी जी ।
 रूप राशि कहाँ लौं वरणों देखत मन लोभायी जी ।

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एक समय वृषभान के नन्दनी मनिमय मंडप छाया की हां जी ।
 यमुना तट वृन्दावन उपर कुल भवन मन भायी की हां जी ।
 एक समय वृषभान की नन्दनी कृष्ण के न्योता पठाई की हां जी ।
 यदुवंशीन कुल कमल कल लोचन महा प्रभु न्योतही आये की हां जी ।
 मोर मुकूट वंजन्त्री के माला पिताम्बर फहराये की हां जी ।
 गोप सखा घन शोभित माथो महाप्रभु न्योतही आये की हां जी ।
 सीने के गेड़आ गंगाजल पानी यमुना जल छिटवाय की हां जी ।

मलया गिरि के छन्दन मंगाये तेकर पिढ़इ गढ़ाये की हां जी ।
 सोने के थाली में जेवना परोसल मधु मेवा पकवान की हां जी ।
 पूड़ी कचौड़ी सब पकवान मिश्री में पगवाई की हां जी ।
 टिकरी खूर्मा अरु बलुसाही केवड़ा जल छिटकाइ की हां जी ।
 दाल भात परोसे राधे चान्द सूर्य ज्योती छाहे की हां जी ।
 कोहड़ा, कचरी, अदवरी, तिलौरी, पापड़ बजका बनाये की हां जी ।
 कटहर, बड़हर, कइता, और भंटा बनाये की हां जी ।
 अलुआ, ओल, करैला, कन्दा, परवर की तरकारी की हां जी ।
 फिंगा, फिंगी, परोरा, परोरी, अगस्त के फूल तराये की हां जी ।
 जिरहुल, मुंगवरी, औरी कचनार, लडका के रइतो बनाये की हां जी ।
 छप्पन भोजन करहु निरंजन साग सम्पति मन भाये की हां जी ।
 सोने के गडुआ गंगाजल पानी तब कृष्ण अंचवावे की हां जी ।
 सोने के खरीका लिये राधे सुन्दरी खरीका लेहु मैं लायी की हां जी ।
 लैवग लाइची, सुपारी मंगायी पान पुरान लगाये की हां जी ।
 कर जांरि बिनती करे ब्रज सुन्दरी यारों से बिनती हमारी की हां जी ।

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हां जी आये राजा दशरथ भूप सहस्र मिलि एक से एक अधिकार जी ।
 जेवन आये दशरथ राजा बांये दहीन सुत चारी जी ।
 कनक थार दिस सब ही को मनगन की है सुराही जी ।
 सोने के थाली में पूड़ी परोसीला और गंगा जल पानी जी ।
 पुड़ी मिठाई और बलुसाही मिश्री की है पगाई जी ।
 टिकरी, खूर्मा, और बलुसाही मीठा सेब मिठाई जी ।
 मिठा खात सब लोग अकुलाने दिहीना बहुत तरकारी जी ।
 अलुआ, ओल, कदुआ, करइला, परवर की तरकारी जी ।
 तीता खात सब लोग अकुलाने षटरस की तैयारी जी ।
 आम अमोध तूँती और निब्बू मिश्री की है पगायी जी ।
 छप्पन भोग दशरथ नित्य जेवत इहां अधिक तैयारी जी ।
 चटनी खात दशरथ जीभ चाटत खाना चाहे भर थाली जी ।

जेवन बैठे राम से लक्ष्मण दिहीना सखि सब गारी जी ।
 मैं तो से पुष्पीला राम पुहुप रस रउरा के देवों एक गारी जी ।
 तीन सो साठ मातृ गृह रउरा एक पुरुष बहु नारी जी ।
 कैसे निवहे धर्म पतिव्रत से वर्ष दिनन की है पारी जी ।
 इतना सुन उपरोहित बोले सुनहु जनकपुर की नारी जी ।
 परिचय लेहु राजा दशरथ जी से ले जाहु अपना अंटारी जी ।
 तुलसी दास प्रभु आश चरण की हरि के चरण बलिहारी जी ।

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जब शिव शंकर जेवन आये शोभा देखहु बरिआती जी ।
 हाथ जोड़ गिरिराज भिनवे वस्त्र आजु उतारी जी ।
 भूषण बसन शिव पहिरत नाहीं नङ्गा भइले बर ठाढ़ जी ।
 कोइ मुख हीन कोइ मुख बहुत चार वचन त्रिपुरारी जी ।
 सोने के चौकी शिव बठत नाहीं मृग छाला आसन मारी जी ।
 सोने के थाली में जेवना परोसीला और तुम्मा भरल गंगा पानी जी ।
 छप्पन भोग गिरि राज बनवाये परोसन लागे भर थारी जी ।
 पांच मुख चहुँ ओर विराजे कंहवा रखूं मैं थारी जी ।
 सौ सौ मन से कम नहि जेवत पेट मनो भण्डारी जी ।
 पर पकवान शिव के रुचत नाहीं भांग धतूर के अहारी जी ।
 भांग धतूर गिरिराज मंगावे हर्षि जेवे त्रिपुरारी जी ।
 अम्बिका देखि सखि मुसुकायी इ बर मिले बड़ भाग्य से जी ।
 धन्य गिरिराज धन्य तुहु मैना अइसन दुलह उतारी जी ।

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कृष्ण मुहे पुत्री के पुत्री ब्रज में कृष्ण जी को न्योता पठाई की हां जी ।
 रघुवंशी कुल प्रकाश महीप महीप मोहे प्रभु न्योतन आयी की हां जी ।
 गोप, भाल धन शंभित माधो पिताम्बर फहरायी की हां जी ।
 बृन्दावन यमुना तट ऊपर कुंज भवन मन भायी की हां जी ।
 ले यमुना जल पांच पखरले दुति चरण फल पाये की हां जी ।
 रमल पतल आनि परोसल यमुना जल छिटवाये की हां जी ।

सोने का किरखी दुति भात परोसल चन्द्र सूर्य ज्योति धाहल की हां जी
कोंहड़ा, कचरी, अदउरी, तिलौरी, पापड़, बजका बनाये की हां जी ।
केरा, कंइता, कटहर, बड़हर, लउका की रइता लगाये की हां जी ।

अगस्त का फूल तराये की हां जी ।

अलुआ कन्दा ओल करैला सेमा सेमी तराये की हां जी ।

सोने के नादी में दही जमावल अमृत जोरन लाये की हां जी ।

सब रंग भोजन करहु निरंजन साग सम्पत्ति रस नांही की हां जी

सोने को भारी लिये राधा सुन्दरी दारन लिहीना अंचाइ की हां जी ।

सोने के खरींका लिये राधे सुन्दरी दारन विनती हमारी की हां जी ।

पान का बीड़ा लिये राधा सुन्दरी कृष्ण से मिनती हमारी की हां जी ।

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कैसे देऊं रे कन्हैया जी को गारी ।

रउरी फुआ रे कुन्ती देइ रानी रे हरि

बिन ब्याहही पुत्र जन्मयी रे हरि ।

रउरी बहिनी सुभद्रा देइ रानी रे हरि

जिन्ह अर्जुन संग सिधारी रे हरी ।

रउरी भौजी द्रौपदी देइ रानी रे हरि

जिन्ह पांच पुरुष एक रानी रे हरि ।

रउरी माइ यशोदा देइ रानी रे हरि

जिन्ह कर दहिया मथत दिन जाइ रे हरि ।

रउरे बाबा जे नन्द बाबा राजा रे हरि

जिन्ह कर कमरी ओढ़त दिन जाय रे हरि ।

कैसे देऊं रे कन्हैया जी को गारी ।

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हां जी कोमल गात अयोध्या के राजा चंचल अति सुकुमार जी ।

मोर मुकुट बैजन्त्री के माला पिताम्बर फहराये जी ।

सोने के गेड़ुआ गंगाजल पानी पांव पखारे रघुराई जी ।

पांव पखारी चरणोदक लिन्है अत बड़ी भाग्य हमारी जी ।

सान की चौकी रत्न जड़ी है आसन लिजिये महाराजा जी ।
 सोने की थाली में जेवना परोसों मधु मेवा पकवान जी ।
 रुचि रुचि भोजन करहु निरंजन गावत रउरा के गारी जी ।
 घर घर से निकली जनकपुर की रानी करि लेली सोरहो शृंगार जी ।
 नाचत गावत ताल बजावत राम मिलन को धायी जी ।
 गारी के अमनख जनि रउरा मानबी यह है जग ब्योहार जी ।
 तुलसीदास प्रभु आश चरण की हरि के चरण बलिहारी जी ।

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जब से कृष्ण चले मधुवन को घर आंगन ना सुहाइ जी ।
 मुरली बजावत धेनु चरावत वसत यमुन जी के तीर जी ।
 नाव ही नाव गोपिन सब आये कृष्ण गढ़, चढ़ि आये जी ।
 उत्तरि परे यमुना जी के तट पर द्वादश तिलक चढ़ाये जी ।
 सब सखिया मिलि देखन आयीं कैसे ललन बनि आये जी ।
 श्याम रूप कमल दल लोचन अंखिया है रतनारी जी
 माथे मुकुट पिताम्बर शोभे गले बैजन्त्री के माला जी ।
 गिरि पर्वत से खम्भ मंगाये पानन माड़ो छवाई जी ।
 ढाढ़ ढाढ़ के पतल मंगाये पतली लगी बहु भारी जी ।
 पांच पतल के पतरी बनाये सोने के खरीका लगाये जी ।
 सोने के गेड़ु आ गंगाजल पानी पट्टीनी पांव पखारी जी ।
 पांव पखारी चरणोदक लिन्हें अति बड़ भाग्य हमारी जी ।
 सोरही गाय के गोबर मंगायी मोतियन चौका पुरायी जी ।
 सोरही गाय के दूध मंगायी तुरत ही खीर बनायी जी ।
 जेवन बैठेले कुंअर कन्हैया परोसों कृष्ण जी के थारी जी ।
 हाल ही भात मैदा के रोटी उस पर घीव चभोरी जी ।
 परोसन लागेली राधे रुक्मीणी सखि सब पारे गारी की हां जी ।
 गारी के बदला हम गारी देवों गारी है प्रेम प्यारी जी ।
 जौ रउआ हई तीन लोक के ठाकुर काहे के अइली ससुरारी जी ।
 बाहिनी तुम्हारी रानी सुभद्रा अर्जुन संग सिधारी जी ।

फुआ तुम्हारी कुन्ती रानी विना ब्याह ही पुत्र जन्माई जी ।
 भौजी तुम्हारी द्रौपदी देई रानी पांच पुरुष एक नारी जी ।
 मौसी तुम्हारी यशोदा रानी मथुरा से आयी चढ़हारी जी ।
 जेह जुगुती जब अंचवन किन्हा मांगेले पान सुपारी जी ।
 गोड़ के धुधुर अधिक शोभे विछीअन की भनकारी जी ।
 बांह पातरि बाजु बन्द शोभे कंगन की छवि न्यारी जी ।
 गले के तिलड़ी अधिक विराजे वेसर नांक विराजे जी ।
 नैना के काजर अधिक विराजे टिकुली मांग विराजे जी ।
 दस अंगूरी दल मुंद्रो शोभे मोतियन मांग भरायी जी ।
 इतना पहिर जब राधे निकली मिलि गये कुंज बिहारी जी ।
 हंसि हंसि पूछे मातु यशोदा कैसे ललन ससुरारी जी ।
 साली से सरहज अधिक प्यारी सासु गंगाजल पानी जी ।
 काइ मै कहीं माता आपन ससुरारी जंहबो दिअवली तोहके गारी जी ।
 गारी के अमनख जनि करु बेटा गारी है प्रेम प्यारी जी ।
 मढ़वा के गारी भंवरा गुंजरे विछीअन की भनकारी जी ।
 दस ही मास बेटा यही कोखि रखलों और दस दूध पिलायी जी ।
 कवहुं ना कइल मोर बड़ाई जी ।
 एक ही रात बेटा गईज ससुरारी सासु के इतना बड़ाई जी ।
 तोहार किरिया अम्मा नन्द बाबा किरिया अवन जाइवो ससुरारीजी ।
 अइसन बोली जनि बोलहु कृष्ण जी नित्य आवहु नित्य जाहु जी ।
 सूरदास प्रभु आश चरण की हरी के चरण बलिहारी जी ।

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उजे विरो परल शिव कुस के ज वे मोहन के मन भावै रे ।
 राधिका जेवनार बनाइओ रुकमिनी प्रसाद बनाइओ ।
 उजे पात परल शिव पुरइन के जवे मोहन के मन भावै राधिका
 जेवनार बनाइओ ।

उजे भात परल शिव चउनल के मोहन के मन भावै रे
 राधिका जेवनार बनाइओ ।

उजे दाल परल शिव बुट के जवे मोहन के मन भावै रे रधिका
जेवनार बनाइओ ।

उजे तरकारी परल शिव परोर के जवे मोहन के मन भावै रे ।

उजे घीव परल शिव द्वार से जवे मोहन के मन भावै रे ।

उजे दही परल शिव छेव से जवे मोहन के मन भावै रे ।

रसिका जेवनार बनाइओ रुकमिनी प्रसाद बनाइओ ।

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जबहि गोपाल चले मधुवन को,

घर आंगन न सोहाए जी ।

मुरली बजावत धेनु चरावत, बसहि जमुना जी के तीरे जी ॥

नाव-नाव गोपी चढ़ी आइलि,

कृष्ण गरुड़ चढ़ि आये जी ।

उतरे परे जमुना जी के तीरे, द्वादश तिलक चढ़ाए जी ।

चारि पैर सुखपाल के फुदना, बिच में घुघर लगाये जी ।

शीश मुकुट पैरू पैजनिया, गरमें मोति के माला जी ।

सुरभि गाय के गोबर मंगाइला, पातहि माढ़ो छवाये जी ।

कंचन कलश गगांजल पानी, गजमोति चौका पुराइ जी ।

तखन कृष्ण पहिने आये, कंदन चौक बैठै जी !

तेहि चढ़ि वैसेलें कृष्ण कन्हैया, चंवर डोलें अधिकाइ जी ॥

आरे जखन चलत हरि तजि ब्रज मथुरा,

रोपल लता एक आश

नित दिन नीर छीटी कयल कतेक नवपात ।

किछु दिन बितलय फुल विकसित भेल

दिशि दिशि सौरभ छाये ॥

फुलब लता जड़ि फुलक समय नहि

उपारव थिक ।

दुत उधव कहू अवे ब्रज बनिता

ककर करट अवलंब ।

हृथि रमानंद किछु दिन धीर धरु,

हरि पुनि बसत कदम्ब ॥

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पुनि जेवनार भई बहु भांति हे ।
पठय जनक बोलाई बराती जी ।
परत पावड़े बसन अनूपा हे ।
सुतन समेत गमन किये भूप जी ।
सादर सब के पांव पखारे हे ।
यथा योग्य पीढ़न बैठारे हे ।
धोये जनक अवधपति चरण हे ।
शील सनेह जाहि नहि वरणा हे ।
बहुरि रामपद पंकज धोये हे ।
जे हर हृदय कमल मह मोहे जी ।
आसन उचित सबहिं नृप दिन्हें ।
बोली पुरत पुकारि सब लिन्हें ।

साद लगे परन पनवारे हे ।

बसहा भीरल पलान हे, कर धैय लेल डोरी ।

पनथ चड़ल शिव जात हे ॥

व्याकुन भेलि गौरी सांभ परल वन कुंज हे ।

गणपति छ थिन कोरा ।

बातो न बुझे कुबोल हे, उत भंगी भोला ।

आक धतूर कर कपूर हे, गले भांगक भोरा

ओढ़न बाघ के छान हे,

गले रुद्र की माला ॥

भनहिं बिद्यापति सुनहु मनार्जन,

यहे छथिन त्रीभुवन नाथ हे ।

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जबहिं बिदा भय कृष्ण कन्हैया, लै वृषभानु दुलारी जो ।

जिन्ह २ कृष्ण के बदन निहारे, जन्म कोटि भल पाये जी ॥

तबहिं पहुंचे गोकुल माहिं, आरती उतारे महतारी जी ।
 तबहिं प्रभु सिंहासन बैठे, सखियां सब देखन आई जी ॥
 हंसि २ पूछें मातु यशोदा, कैसो ललन ससुरारी जी ।
 बोलन लागे कृष्ण गोपाला, सुनु मातु बचन हमारी जी ॥
 साली सरहज अधिक पेयारी, सासु गंगाजल पानी जी ।
 नवहिं मास पुत्र कोखि में राखल, कबहुँ न कइले बड़ाई जी ।
 तुम्हारी दोहाई नन्द बबा के अब न जाइब ससुरारी जी ।
 हमको तुमको नन्द बबा को देहिं सखि सब गारी जी ॥
 जुग २ जियो पुत तोरो ससुरारी, नित आवहु नित जावहु जी ।
 गारी के अनरस जनु करु पुतो, गारी है प्रेम पियारी जी ॥
 सब सखियन मिली मधुवन चलेलि, कृष्ण भये चौभारी जी ।
 डेग चार सब अपनी करके, अपने भवन सिधारी जी ॥
 सूरदास प्रभु धनि यह गोपिन, जिन्ह यह गारी गाई जी ।
 प्रेम प्रीति से गारी गावत, परमानन्द सुख पाई जी ॥

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गाय के दूध की खीर बनाये,
 परसि कंचन की थारी जी ।
 जेवन बैठे कृष्ण कन्हैया,
 देति सखी सब गारी जी ।
 सब सखिया मिलि कोहबर ले गई,
 नाम न जानो कैसी गारी जी ।
 माई के नाम जो कहिय यशोदा,
 बहिन के नाम सुभद्रा जी ।
 नाम जो धरिये सखियन सब मिलि,
 देहिं ललन जी के गारी जी ॥
 जब रे कन्हैया जी अंचवन कीन्हा,
 पान देई बैठाये जी ॥
 गाय के दूध को खीर बनाये,

पर कंचन के थारी जी।

जेवन बैठे कृष्ण कन्हैया,

देत सखी सब गारी जा।

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दाल भात मैदा की रोटी तापर घीव चभोरी जी,
नाना भांति बनी तरकारी कृष्ण बड़े रस भोगी जी।
जेवन बैठे कृष्ण गोपाला देही सखी सब गारी जी,
माइ तुम्हारी जो कहिय यशोदा मथुरा से आई उदारी जो।
बाप तुम्हारे जो कहि नन्द जी घर घर मांगे दहारी जी,
बहिनी तुम्हारी कहिय सुभद्रा अर्जुन संग सिधारी जी।
फुफू तुम्हारी जो कहिय कुन्ती देई सोहै पांच भतारी जी,
मड़वा की गारी भंवरा बीच गुंजरे बिछियन की झंझकारी जी।
बाजूबन्द कंगन भले सोहे मोतियन मांग सम्भारी जी,
इतना पहिन के चलली राधा मिलि गये कुंज बिहारी जी।

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जेवन बैठे कृष्ण कन्हैया देहि सखी सब गारी जी ॥
कैसे देख गोपालहि गारी, दुइ बाप एक महतारी जी।
हमसा तीन लोक के ठाकुर, हमको कैसी गारी जी।
जो तुम तीनो लोक के ठाकुर, काहे आये ससुरारी जी ॥
जो तुम गारी देहु सब सखिया, हम लेबों पटुका पसारी जी।
ऐसी गारी काहें को कहिये गारो है प्रेम पियारी जी।
ओरियन चारों को पत्तल पड़ि गये, रचना रही सुखकारी जी ॥
रचना अधिक २ के पीढ़न, बैठारे सब भाई जी।

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कंचन थार मृदुल सोहारी, परसी विविध मिठाई जी ॥
रुचि अनुरूप भूप सुत जैवत, पवन डोलावे सासु जी।
सारि हमारि है अनि गेवहारी, नित उठी पान लगावे जी।

सरहजि हमारी अति बेवहारी, नित उठि पलंग विछावे जी ।
भनहिं विद्यापति ठहकन गावे सुन्दरि फूल छिरिआवे जी ॥

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चरण कमल बलिहारी सखि, रघुनाथ कुमर के ।
दसरथ सहित जनक नृप वैसल, सारद चरण पखारे ॥
रतन जड़ित मनि कनक कटोरी षटरस भोग लगाये ।
चारु भाय मिलि भोजन वैसला, होय परस्पर गारी ।
तिन सौय साठि माय रघुवर के एक पुरुष केर नारी ।
सत्य सुकृत कौन विधी निबहे वरष दिवस के पारी ॥
तखन कहल दसरथ जी के पुरोहित, सनहु जनकजी के नारी ।
गारी कोउ ना देहु रामलला के बोलहु वचन सँभारी ॥
नहि मानत तो लेहु परीक्षा, राखहु अपनी अटारी ।
तुलसीदास सो छवि रघुवर की, हरति गात निहारी ॥

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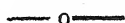
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सब सखिया मिली देखन आई कइसन ललन बनि आई जी ।
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अति सुकुमार यसोदानन्दन पम्दीनी चंवर डुलावे जी ॥

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